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THE RT. HON. LORD REDESDALE
AND SOME OF HIS
UPON THE SUBJECT OF
SOME STRICTURES UPON THE
The British Critic
AND OTHER ANONYMOUS TRADUCERS OF THE IRISH NATION;
AND ALSO SOME OBSERVATIONS ON
LORD REDESDALE'S LETTERS TO THE
EARL OF FINGALL.

—o*o—
Quem mala stultitia et quæcunque inscitia veri
Cæcum agit. Hor. Sat. iii. l. 2.

Whom wicked folly and in ev'ry form
Nescience of truth had blindfold on to ruin,

—o*o—
Second Edition.

DUBLIN:
PRINTED BY H. FITZPATRICK, 4, CAPEL-STREET.

1804.
350 /



A

POSTLIMINIOUS PREFACE

TO THE
HISTORICAL REVIEW
OF THE
STATE OF IRELAND.

THE marvellous fertility of the present æra in extraordinary occurrences will reconcile the reader to the publication of a postliminious preface to a work, that has been upwards of six months before the public. Whilst the great Ruler of the Universe continues to produce the wise ends of his providence over human beings through secondary causes, the reasoning powers, with which he has gifted them, continue to be the ordinary means, by which he enables them to face the circumstances of the day, however awful, pregnant, or unprecedented they be. To every function and department in social life, appropriate duties are affixed, which arise out of, and can only cease in the extinction of social nature itself. If Bolingbroke observed truly, *that the love of history seems inseparable from human nature*, the

A 2 historiographer

historiographer fills no unimportant station in society. His first and last duty is a sacred adherence to truth ; and until it please the Divine Ruler to suspend or alter that system, by which he has hitherto given action and protection to the physical and moral world, profane and irreverend would be the attempt to attain the truth of human events otherwise than by the light and rules of that reason, which for this very end he has indiscriminately infused into every human being.

The author, conscious of his eagerness to investigate, and his stern determination to disclose the truth, did not heretofore feel himself called upon to make any avowal to the public of his intention and endeavours to fulfil this indispensable duty of the historian. The case is now altered ; and he does feel himself called upon to submit to the public several facts, which affect the credit of his History, and which most intimately touch the interests of Ireland, and therefore involve the firmness and prosperity of the British empire.

Consistently with the views, motives, and principles, which led the author to undertake the arduous and important (and to some, invidious) task of bringing down the Irish history to the present day, he cannot pass wholly unnoticed the

the invectives upon the *Historical Review* in the British Critic for November and December 1803. The work appears to have set afloat all the gall of the reverend writers of that periodical publication. In p. 465, vol. xxii. they assure their readers, that "the publication is considered by a great part of the Irish as a libel upon the loyalty of Ireland; and his (the author's) object in publishing such a work at such a time is best known to himself." It is now become necessary to make that object known also to the public. They add (p. 483), "As this *Historical Review of the State of Ireland* by Mr. Plowden has very imprudently provoked investigation, it is alone answerable for whatever contention may arise from the discussion." Such responsibility is common to all publications; more especially to such as deal in invective. These considerate censors are, doubtless, therefore prepared for similar responsibility. But the influence, under which the British Critic is well known to be directed and circulated, gives no opening to individual controversy or personal reflection.

The author repels with scorn the false charges of writing his History *to serve the interests of a party, and to mislead the people of England*. He avers, that it contains no wilful *historical misrepresentation*; he believes it contains no actual *historical*
cal

cal misrepresentation. It contains no *undeserved panegyric upon any set of individuals* ; it contains some sensure, but no *unfounded calumnies against the living and the dead of any sect.* Such general charges can only be met by general denial ; and in support of such denial, beyond the authorities adduced in the *Historical Review* (not to be taken on the credit of the gross mistatements of the British Critic), the author forewarns his reader, that the first overflow of their acrimonious humour for the month of November does not contain one specific charge, much less a proof, that the author has falsified one single historical fact.

If from these first workings of the British Critic it be allowable to analyze the dose administered (however gilded the pill), it will be found to have been composed of the following ingredients : three-fourths of antipathy against the professors of the Roman Catholic religion, not ineptly termed, *Papaphobia* ; and the remaining fourth of a powerful compound of the drug called *Miscrinia*, or hatred of the Irish nation ; an equal portion of a higher sublimate of this compound, lately prepared by Sir Richard Musgrave, Barr. and forced by the puffs of the British Critic into general circulation amongst their customers ; and a discretional infusion of the common drug *Doulodynamy*, never known for ages to have failed
in

in producing in the patient a blind unqualified submission even to the most nauseous, painful, and humiliating *recipe* of the physician. Whether the administration of such a pill have been judicious under the existing circumstances, may be doubted by many; that it has operated powerfully, must be allowed by all, who have examined its effects.

Under the operation of this dose, so keenly ferocious are the patients' animosity and hatred to the Irish nation, or to their religion, or to both, that they take offence at what the author has very compendiously inferred from the indefatigable researches and unanswerable disquisitions of the late Charles O'Connor of Ballynagare, the learned and ingenious Vallancey, and several other respectable Irish authors, concerning some facts, which preceded Christianity by nearly one thousand years; others that happened before the Reformation by as long a period; and many that pre-existed by several centuries the invasion of Ireland by Henry II. the epoch, from which the author commences his *Historical Review*. These facts are not *the assertions of Mr. Flويدen*, as falsely advanced (p. 471); but the concurrent testimony of the ancient and modern historians of Ireland, backed and illustrated by a body of evidence of moral and even physical certainty, which

which baffles scepticism. Yet in the face of such incontrovertible proofs, the *British Critic* recommends to his devotees *to rely rather upon the conjectures of DAVID HUME* *. The unsupported audacity

* As the conjectures of Mr. Hume are here brought forward to discredit the very foundation of Irish history, it will not be found invidious in the author to call his reader's attention to that gentleman's claim to historical veracity.—*Amicus Plato : magis amica veritas*. If these theological anathematisers of the *Historical Review* have read the work regularly, they must have seen (p. 114.) what was said by the Rev. Doctor Warner, (a protestant divine, perhaps as well qualified to know, and as well disposed to disclose, the truth of Irish history, as any writer for the *British Critic*), concerning Mr. Hume's historical fidelity to Ireland. "*To such miserable shifts are able men reduced, when they write to please a party, or to support a character without regard to truth.*" While Mr. Hume was writing his History, a certain lord of session supplied him with several original documents concerning Elizabeth's conduct towards Mary Queen of Scots: they tended to render the character of Elizabeth less amiable in the eyes of the English, than it is generally represented. Mr. Hume worked them faithfully into his manuscript, which having been perused by or on behalf of Mr. Andrew Millar, his publisher, he was informed, that this new and less favoured portrait of that favourite sovereign would be by 500*l.* less saleable than a highly finished copy of that, to which the British eye had been so long accustomed. Mr. Hume took back his manuscript, and complied with the prudential suggestions of his bookseller, observing, with philosophic pleasantry, that 500*l.* was a valuable consideration for settling differences between two old friends about two w—s that had been dead nearly two hundred years. The abilities of Mr. Hume as a writer are allowed by all: his religious doctrines have but few professed supporters; and his historical

audacity of contradiction in the *British Critic*, so prevalent throughout their two first essays against the *Historical Review*, throws them directly within the observation of a great man, who also had to combat a class of general deniers of palpable verities—*Nec tam pertinaces fore arbitror ut clarissimum solem sanis atque patentibus oculis videre se negent.* LACTANT.

The author is charged (p. 476) with *having passed over sixteen reigns*, viz. from Richard I. to Henry VII. Allowing the charge to be either true or important, it clears him at least of even an attempt to falsify any historical fact during those reigns. He is gratified, however, in the *British Critic's* bringing before the public the

B

transaction

tical veracity will certainly be questioned by those, who credit this anecdote, which can be still verified by many living acquaintance of the late Mr. A. Millar. But, *ex ore tuo, te judico.* Mr. Hume has himself confessed, that *no man has yet arisen, who has been enabled to pay an entire regard to truth, and has dared to expose her without covering or disguise to the eyes of the prejudiced public.* (Hist. of Eng.) With how much more dignity spoke an honest Englishman, ere modern philosophy, deistical scepticism, or political refinement had disguised the British character: *Dura est enim conditio historiographorum: quia si vera dicant, homines provocant: si falsa scripturis commendant, Dominus, qui veridicos ab adulatoribus sequestrat, non acceptat.* MAT. PAR. 774. For hard is the lot of the historian! if he speak truth, he offends man: if by his writings he countenance falsehood, the Lord, who segregates truth-tellers from flatterers, will not receive him.

transaction of the imposture of *Simnel*: for admitting that adherence to the claims of the House of York was no act of rebellion, the attachment of the Irish to the supposed Earl of Warwick is an illustrious instance (amongst many) of the grateful affection of that nation to their benefactors, and of their distinguished loyalty to their lawful sovereign; for presuming that impostor to be the Earl of Warwick, they considered him to be the true Plantagenet.

So gross are the deviations of those bilious critics from the knowledge of the scholar, the fairness of the gentleman, and the candor of the reviewer, that, after having illustrated an instance of each, the author will dismiss them from his thoughts for ever; unless some future well-founded or tempered critique should suggest the inaccuracy or falsehood of some historical fact, which he will then correct, and publicly recognise his obligation to the suggester of the mistatement: for truth, from whatever hand it comes, shall continue to be, as it has hitherto been, the sole object of his attainment.

The *British Critic* (p. 481) betrays the slender store of legal and constitutional knowledge, with which he so confidently arrogates the function of *librorum censor*. In his pruriency for invective, he charges the author with not having read,

or

or not understanding the statute against marrying with the Irish. In turgid hebetude, these time-serving commentators upon the statutes confine the prohibition to intermarriages between the King's subjects and Irish *rebels*, unless they *became denizens*: ignorant that *denization* is the cure of *alienage*, not of *high treason*. But what will the rural curate, who reluctantly pays for the impartial elucubrations of the *British Critic*, as the *sine quâ non* of his promotion, what will his rector, what his ordinary, what will any man, who has hitherto given them credit for the knowledge of the scholar, or even for common honesty, say, when he is apprized, that the 56th page of the *Historical Review*, which has drawn forth their Pharisaical rant, contains the solemn opinion, agreeing with the author's (and with every lawyer's) interpretation of that statute, so recently given as on the 10th of February 1800, by the late Earl of Clare, undoubtedly the most able, and by his creatures and followers cried up as the purest supporter of the Protestant ascendancy in Ireland. "The early policy of the English Government certainly was to discourage all connexion of the colony with the *native* (mark, he says not *rebel*) Irish: it seems difficult, however, to reconcile it to any principle of sound policy: it was a declaration of a perpetual

“ war against not only the native Irish, but against
 “ every person of English blood, who had settled
 “ beyond the limits of the Pale, or from motives
 “ of personal interest or convenience had formed
 “ connexions with the natives (this was no act
 “ of treason), and adopted their laws or customs ;
 “ and it had the full effect, which might have
 “ been expected : it drew closer the confederacy
 “ it was meant to dissolve, and implicated the
 “ colony of the Pale in ceaseless warfare and
 “ contention with each other, and with the in-
 “ habitants of the adjacent district.” (Speech of
 the Earl of Clare, in D. P. 9.)

As the author's view was the publication of
 truth, he once thought, as he continues to think,
 that it was his duty to send it forth in the form
 in which it should pass the most current. He
 was aware that, to that class of his readers, who
 are really desirous of attaining the truth, it would
 be immaterial, from whose pen it came: and to
 that class of them, whose prejudices being once
 fixed would reluctantly submit to any truth which
 counteracted them, he presumed the words of one
 of their favourite writers would receive more
 ready credit than those of the author. For this
 reason the author designedly copied from Leland,
 where

where Leland spoke the truth *: particularly concerning the early scenes of the reformation and
its

* The late Dr. Leland is well known to have written his History for a bishopric, which he never attained. It is but a more polished edition of Cox, the falsities of whose work are too rank and numerous for specific refutation. The author never intended to publish a polemical work, to refute other false historians, but to submit to the public a genuine view of the state of Ireland, by tearing away the veil of fictitious story, and exposing facts, such as they were. Dr. Leland was amply furnished with documents for writing a true history of Ireland by several, who were desirous, that historical justice should at length be done to that much-traduced people. He cultivated the acquaintance of, and was in habits of intimacy with the late Mr. Charles O'Connor, of Ballynagare, who was possessed of the best collection of materials for writing Irish history down to the period, to which Dr. Leland carries it, of any individual in Europe, and which is now deposited in the Marquis of Buckingham's library at Stowe. The author has been repeatedly assured by two gentlemen of great respectability now living, that they have heard Dr. Leland assure Mr. O'Connor, that he was fully aware of the false colouring and unfair tendency of his History; but that the persons, for whom he wrote and published it, would not relish or encourage the work, unless it supported those facts and principles, which had received currency with the English ascendancy in Ireland since the reformation; admitting he could write a more true, which would, of course, be a less saleable history of that country. The late Mr. Edmund Burke had made some important researches into one particular period of Irish history, the author's representation of which has given such offence to the *British Critic*, and from public records had extracted most authentic documents relative to the Protestant massacre, which would have given a very different cast to the complexion of that supposed event. When Dr. L. undertook to write the history of Ireland, Mr. B.
put

its introduction into Ireland. He said therefore in a note, and it would have been candid in the British Critic to have noticed the words (p. 52), "For very obvious reasons I have chosen to follow Dr. Leland's account of the effect of Archbishop Browne's mission to Ireland."

A reader of the British Critic, giving the writers credit for common honesty and truth, must necessarily infer from these words (p. 475), *As to Mr. Plowden's philippic against coygne and livery, &c.* that the author had indulged in some vehement invective against that usage, which those writers dignified by the appellation of a *philippic*. But what will be the conclusion, when it shall appear that all the author has said of it is thus expressed in p. 41: "It was a system so grievous in its nature, that, had it been confined to that disastrous period of the Irish history, I should have spoken of it with the same freedom

put these and all his other papers into the Doctor's hands, in order that facts might be brought to light, and history bot-
tomed in truth. But truth was not the object of Leland's publication; a good sale was his only aim; and facts, which would have counteracted the prejudices of those, who could afford to buy, were suppressed for fear of blasting with unpalatable truths, the pages of his work. He not only withheld the papers from his History, but from Mr. B. likewise. Mr. B. was never able to obtain them from him again. The truth of this anecdote has been confirmed to the author by several intimate friends of the late Mr. Burke.

“ freedom I have used in narrating other barbarous usages, which civilization and political liberality have long entombed : but recent revivals of this system of inhumanity render it prudent for a modern writer to use other rather than his own language in detailing these ancient enormities.” What will be the astonishment, that the *philippics* found in the *Historical Review* against *coygne and livery*, are those of the first law officer of the Crown, and of a Protestant divine, and not of a Catholic historian? The first of these *philippics* is of Sir John Davies, and begins with these remarkable words : “ But the most wicked and mischievous custome of all others was that of *coygne and livery*, often before mentioned, which consisted in taking of *man’s meate, horse meate, and money* of all the inhabitants of the country at the will and pleasure of the soldier ; who, as the phrase of Scripture is, did eate up the people as it were bread.” And it ends with the following remarkable words : “ That though it were invented in hell, yet if it had been used and practised there, as it hath been in Ireland, it had long since destroyed the very kingdom of Belzebub.” The second of these *philippics* is from the pen of Dr. Leland, and is expressed in his strongest colouring : it ends with these words : “ Riot, rapine, massacre,

and

“ and all the tremendous effects of anarchy, were
 “ the natural consequences. Every inconsider-
 “ able party, who under the pretence of loyalty
 “ received the King’s commission to repel the
 “ adversary in some particular district, became
 “ pestilent enemies to the inhabitants. Their
 “ property, their wives, the chastity of their fa-
 “ milies, were all exposed to barbarians, who
 “ sought only to glut their brutal passions, and
 “ by their horrible excesses purchased the curse
 “ of God and man.” If the ire and indignation
 of the British Critic be roused into such pa-
 roxysms by these *philippics*, truth and candour
 must admit, that they are the *philippics* of Sir
 John Davies and Doctor Leland, and not of Mr.
 Plowden.

For the sake of such persons as are ignorant
 of, but who wish to attain the truth of Irish his-
 tory, the author passes not over unnoticed the
 piteous attempt of the British Critic to discredit
 the *Historical Review*, by *falsely* asserting, that it
 is bottomed only upon the authority of some few
 Catholic writers, in palpable contradiction to the
 Protestant historians of Ireland. For the refuta-
 tion of this unmanly falsehood, the author refers
 his readers, and particularly his *English* readers
 (the British Critic has inadvertently uttered one
 truth, p. 464, *That very general is the ignorance,*
which,

which, even at this day, prevails in England of the true state of that country), to the authorities he has quoted in his work, of Dr. Nalson, the Bishop of Derry, and Dr. Warner ; all three Protestant clergymen ; and the author presumes, in as high repute for knowledge, candor, and religion, as the writers of the *British Critic*.

Doctor Nalson says (and the British Critic could not wink so hard as not to see it quoted), p. 13, " That Borlase's history of the Irish Rebellion is " rather a paradox than a history, and that his " distorted plagiarism of Lord Clarendon's manuscript rendered him suspected not to be over- " stocked with honesty and justice, so necessary " to the reputation of an unblemished historian. " He wrote for the avowed purpose of defending " the harsh government of his father, Sir John " Borlase, and Sir William Parsons."—The Bishop of Derry admits that " he continued Sir " John Temple's partial and unfaithful Memoirs, " and wrote Reflections upon Lord Castlehaven's " Memoirs, as being openly and avowedly a favourite of the faction, and the men and the " actions of those times."

Doctor Warner is quoted (p. 113), and no man of ordinary understanding will give credit to such severe censors, for having inadvertently overlooked so long and important a quotation from

a Protestant gentleman of their own cloth. "The
 " original Protestant writers of this period are
 " Sir John Temple and Doctor Borlase : the first,
 " who was master of the rolls and a privy coun-
 " sellor, has confined himself entirely to the
 " massacre and rebellion in the early part of it ;
 " and the sense of what he suffered by the insur-
 " rection, together with his attachment to the
 " ministry, led him to aggravate the crimes and
 " cruelties of the Irish : the other was the son
 " of Sir John Borlase, one of the lords justices
 " of that time, and seems to have been an officer
 " in the civil wars, who hath made great use of
 " Temple's History ; and, as far as he liked it,
 " of Lord Clarendon's Vindication of the Mar-
 " quis of Ormonde. If both these authors are
 " to be read with great suspicion of partiality,
 " as they certainly are, except in the copies of
 " original papers, and the facts which tally with
 " them, Sir Richard Cox, who has done little
 " more than transcribe the accounts which they
 " have given, is entitled to still less merit, and
 " yet open to the same suspicion. When he had
 " no longer these to be his guide, the remain-
 " der of his work is little more than an extract
 " from the newspapers and pamphlets of the time,
 " and in no part deserves the name of a history."
 And he further says, " As to all the writers of
 " English

“ English history, who attempt to give any relation of this rebellion, having compiled from some or other of the materials aforementioned, they have copied likewise their mistakes and imperfections ; hence they are so inaccurate, partial, and uninformed, that whoever contents himself with the accounts that he meets with of it, in any of our histories of England (not one excepted) may be said to know little of it.”

The same reverend author, speaking, in the body of his History, of Mr. Hume's gross infidelity, in representing the conduct of Charles I. towards his Irish subjects, says (p. 359), “ To such miserable shifts are able men reduced, when they write to please a party, or to support a character without regard to truth. It is but very little that Mr. Hume hath said on this critical part of King Charles's reign ; but unless he could have said something much more to the purpose than he hath said, he had better have taken the way Lord Clarendon took, and have said nothing at all.” Can they claim title to the fairness of Reviewers, who charge the author (p. 661) *with interdicting any reference to Temple, Borlase, Clarendon, Carte, and Cox, and accusing the Protestants with having commenced the first massacre in 1641 ; a position (they assert) contrary to the faith of history ;* when they must have read the

following words, quoted out of Clarendon (Hist. Rev. 137): “ *About the beginning of November 1641, the English and Scotch forces in Carrickfergus murdered, in one night, all the inhabitants of the island Gee, commonly called Mac-Gee, to the number of above three thousand men, women, and children, all innocent persons, in a time when none of the Catholics in that country were in arms or rebellion. Note, that this was the first massacre committed in Ireland on either side.*” Let any man of common honour or honesty (I appeal to none other) say, is this interdicting the authority of Clarendon? Is this Mr. Plowden’s or Lord Clarendon’s accusation?

Such barefaced attempts to impose upon ignorance or inability to attain the truth, such prostitution to every thing uncandid, such total abandonment of uprightness, will discharge the author from the nauseating task of specifying more of the wilful falsifications and mistatements of the writers of the *British Critic*. They have, however, called upon the author to disclose to the public *his object in publishing such a work, at such a time as the present*, with a further complaint, that *at this unpropitious moment he has thrown down the gauntlet of religious and political controversy* (p. 465). Before the author enters into the detail of the circumstances, under which he wrote and published

published his *Historical Review*, he begs leave to premise, that the work does not contain a single sentence of religious controversy. If the narration of historical truths be, in the language of these *pseudocritics*, *throwing down the gauntlet*, the author declines not the contest with any one, who fairly enters the lists to disprove them.

In the autumn of 1801, the author had in the press a work, that has since appeared, upon the constitution of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, civil and ecclesiastical. It was his intention to have subjoined to it an Appendix, relating to the then recent transaction of the union. The difficulty of procuring any materials for the purpose in London, sharpened his eagerness for research, and led him to contemplate that great event in all its bearings. The subject was not new to him: he had long considered *, as he still does consider, that an incorporate

* The author had, in April 1792, after several conversations with the Minister upon the subject of Ireland, put into his hands the following considerations upon the state of that country, accompanied with a letter, which, should these sheets come under his eye, the author trusts will work an impression on that great man's mind, which either was not produced or not expressed at the time he received them. The writer was ordered, and he obeyed the order, to put a copy into the hands of Mr. Dundas (now Lord Melville). From that hour, though the author frequently solicited an interview with that Minister,

porate union of the two kingdoms must be the greatest blessing to the British Empire, if followed
up

Minister, he never could obtain one during the remaining nine years he continued in office, though the objects of his solicitation were of the first national magnitude. Truth alone survives all changes of times, fashions, and circumstances. In justice to himself and family, the author now submits to the impartial public, that letter and that paper, which the consequent conduct of the minister, who received them, towards the writer, shews to have been displeasing or offensive. The fate of the *Historical Review* renders the case of the author the cause of Ireland; and it is now become expedient, just, and necessary, that his negotiations in Downing-Street concerning it should be disclosed.

SIR,

Adelphi, 13th April 1792.

Your apparent surprise at what I hinted to you about Ireland, the last time I had the honour of seeing you, has made me turn my thoughts more than ever to that subject. If the information, which you have received concerning the situation of affairs in that country be contrary to my representation of them, for once I shall cordially rejoice in being deceived. I have used what means I could to come at the truth; and you may rely upon the uprightness of my intentions in communicating to you the contents of the enclosed paper. I have withstood some pressing solicitations to publish an argument in support of the emancipation of Ireland. For very obvious reasons, I have preferred this measure, of submitting privately the grounds of the case to your consideration, that your prudence may apply such remedy, as you shall find the nature of it demands. You will forgive perhaps an officious, certainly a zealous attempt to contribute towards the prevention of very serious evils. I have that confidence in your judgment and resolution, that nothing but misinformation of facts, can betray you into an inefficient measure of Government. I hope, therefore, that my surmise of false reports having been made to you will plead my apology for having troubled you upon the subject. I most devoutly wish
the

up by an indiscriminating adoption of all his Majesty's subjects, in the assumption of the Imperial

the circumstances not to happen, which, I am sorry to acknowledge, I see the strongest probability of happening. If happily they do not, I shall rejoice in having given an useless alarm : if unfortunately they do, I shall console myself in the consciousness of having done whatever lay in my slender ability to prevent them. My constant ambition is to promote and ensure the welfare and happiness of every part of the British empire.

I have the honour to be with the most respectful deference and highest esteem,

SIR, your devoted and obedient

Humble Servant,

The Rt. Hon. William Pitt.

FRANCIS PLOWDEN.

A sincere well-wisher to Government thinks it a call of duty and loyalty to submit to the Minister the following considerations upon the present state of Ireland.

It is allowed that 3,000,000 of the inhabitants are Roman Catholics. It is a matter of notoriety, that they have petitioned Parliament in vain for the free elective franchise. The indulgences, which have been granted to them by Parliament, affect but few individuals of their body.

The situation of Ireland is at present widely different from what it was twenty years back. The sentiments and feelings of men upon government and subordination are also widely different from what they were five years back. Wherever a government or constitution is radically good, the discussion of its principles will strengthen and confirm it : but where it is otherwise, such discussion must produce a contrary effect.

Every general principle of the British constitution operates in the inverse *ratio* upon Ireland ; and the Irish are now taught to see, and spirited up to feel, that a nation cannot be taxed that is not represented, nor bounden by laws, in the framing of which they do not concur. They know themselves to have been loyal to their King and country : they profess that faith, which they believe

Imperial Parliament's manifesting the same tutelary attention to the interests of the people of
Ireland,

believe their consciences require, which they know to be civilly innoxious, and in no manner repugnant to the spirit of the constitution of their country. They therefore feel themselves galled by persecution and oppression merely on account of their religious persuasion. They know that they form a most decided majority of the nation ; and they are now forcibly taught to insist upon the practical effects of the first principle of all civil government, that the free will of the majority can alone bind a nation. The bulk of the Irish Roman Catholics consists of their peasantry. They are chiefly aggrieved by the want of the elective franchise, which subjects them to be constantly postponed in the letting of farms to Protestant 40s. freeholders, to keep up parliamentary influence. Catholic families are daily ejected from their tenements to make room for Protestant 40s. freeholders.

The body of Roman Catholics indeed, is generally inclined to monarchy : the society of United Irishmen of Belfast are mostly, if not entirely, Presbyterians, who are known to be less cordially affected towards monarchy : and it appears evident from their resolutions, oath, and proceedings, that they aim immediately at a total change in the representation of the kingdom of Ireland, intended probably to be followed up by a total separation from this country, and, if possible, by the establishment of a republican democracy.

The attempts of this society to form an union or coalition with the Roman Catholics are unremitted : every lure, every promise, every temptation to civil freedom and liberty, are artfully displayed, and every incentive to retaliate for past horrors or grievances, every provocative to reclaim usurped rights, are most ingeniously and forcibly and seasonably brought forth to keep up the irascibility of those, who have been so sorely hurt at the disdainful rejection of their petition to Parliament for the right of the elective franchise. The few Roman Catholics of landed property, or ostensible respectability, who have signed
any

Ireland, which they do to those of the city of London, or other the most favoured portion of the British empire.

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any instrument to denote or intimate their acquiescence in the deprivation of this great civil right, have either lost their influence upon the body at large, or repented, for having committed themselves upon the question. The body itself has acquired an increased degree of spirit, energy, and determination to pursue this object to every extreme, in proportion as they have been heretofore supposed to be under the influence of Lord Kenmare and others who sided with him.

The unparalleled sufferance and forbearance of the Roman Catholics of Ireland for this last century, under the galling pressure of the severest laws, was solely owing to the influence and exertions of their clergy over their respective flocks. But now, from forming themselves into associations, and being taught to think more fully and freely upon their civil rights, they have determined amongst themselves, that in this they have been deceived and misled by their clergy: that no consideration whatever ought to have witholden them from asserting their just rights, as unoffending members of that society, of which they formed the decided majority. The consequence has been, that the clergy have found it necessary to secede from the committee of the Roman Catholic body. They have also felt, that during this unaccountable and infamous stupor of their body, as they term it, Lord Kenmare had pretended to command and exercise an influence over the body, which he really never possessed; and lest the deception might still continue, they have expelled * him from the committee: and it is notorious, that his

* The reader is requested to notice, that this paper was not a public historical detail of facts, but a private communication to Ministers of reports then in general circulation, and a reasoning upon the effects of those reports, in the truth of which the Author at that time assured the Minister, he should cordially rejoice in being deceived. The historical detail

He passed in review all the intermediate scenes
exhibited on the theatre of that fatal country
between

his Lordship could not command one single name or signature to an address, that he wished to be presented to Government from his own county of Kerry, where the bulk of his property lies.

The consequences of irritating and provoking the majority of the Irish nation, by the refusal of what they feel they have a right to, are too horrid to dwell upon, and much too serious to trifle with. The resolution, no longer to submit to any incapacities or grievances upon the score of religion, is general with the body. And those who think that the Irish Roman Catholics are now peaceable, inactive, quiet, and contented with their situation, are grossly deceived. A spirit of resistance has pervaded the greater part of them, and is increasing in a rapid though silent manner: the more so at present, as their future measures will be probably planned and concerted by the society of the United Irishmen of Dublin, who have deeper schemes than the Roman Catholics, whom they mean to use as their instruments for executing them.

They are taught and spirited up by some very artful and determinate individuals of their own and of other bodies of men, to be insulted with the very idea of the Protestant ascendancy, to insist upon absolute equality in all civil advantages; to view every ascendancy over the bulk of the nation as an unjust and tyrannical monopoly of a few interested individuals; in a word, not to look upon those their representatives in Parliament, whom they neither elect nor depute. What must be the consequences of an enraged, resolute, and united people, thus tutored, and thus affected?

The

detail of the conduct of the late Lord Kenmare, and some other gentlemen who sided with him, and of their difference from the Catholic Committee, is to be found in the second Volume of the *Historical Review*.

between the years 1792 and 1801 ; he inquired into the effects produced up to that time (the end

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of

The radical defect of redress lies in the act of the 23d of his present Majesty, which established a sort of *imperium in imperio*, and made Ireland independent of our Legislature. A most fatal solecism in politics ; which nothing but an *union* can now possibly correct ; and to that Ireland will object, and England is disabled by this very act to enforce it.

Government best knows of what importance it is to the state, that Ireland should be dependant upon, or united with Great Britain : they will therefore be the proper judges of the necessity of engaging the majority of the nation to relish and support that dependance or *union*. Let them not, therefore, permit the Roman Catholics of Ireland to remain under their present prepossession, that their exclusion from the state is necessary to preserve that dependance or *union*.

Ere some fatal resolution be entered into, let them be convinced that their petition will be attended to, and granted. Under the desperate irritation at its rejection, some moderate men shudder at the violent extremities to which the more active and determinate members of the body are now proceeding.

The Irish are determinately faithful to the cause they embark in, and they would remain loyally attached to their King and their Constitution, were they admitted to an equal participation of it with others. Their religion enforces the observance of civil duties, wherever they have civil rights. It appears the extremity of rashness to alienate their affection, and drive them to the fatal provocation of asserting what they claim as an unalienable right, by force or violence.

If Government wish to preserve the form of the British constitution in Ireland, if the possessors of landed property in that kingdom wish to annex any parliamentary influence to their possessions, if the public wish to avoid bloodshed, to preserve the harmony and ensure the prosperity of that kingdom, it is evident that the content, freedom, and independence of their native tenantry are essentially necessary.

The

of August 1801) by the union ; and he lamented to find, that it became daily less palatable to the people of that part of the United Kingdom. He discovered

The spirit in which very many Roman Catholics have embarked in the resolution of asserting an equal participation of civil rights and advantages with their Protestant brethren, is emphatically expressed in the form of the oath, which is required to be taken by all who enter into the society of United Irishmen, which is as follows : “ I A. B. in the presence of God, do
 “ pledge myself to my country, that I will use all my abilities
 “ and influence in the attainment of an impartial and adequate
 “ representation of the Irish nation in Parliament ; and as a
 “ means of absolute and immediate necessity in the establish-
 “ ment of this chief good of Ireland, I will endeavour, as
 “ much as in my ability, to form a brotherhood of affection
 “ and identity of interests, a communion of rights, and an union
 “ of power among Irishmen of all religious persuasions ; without
 “ which every reform in Parliament must be partial, not national,
 “ inadequate to the wants, delusive to the wishes, and insuffi-
 “ cient for the freedom and happiness of this country.”

Many thousands of Roman Catholics have already entered into this society. A coalition between the Catholic committee of Dublin and the Dissenters of the north, is already completed, though not with the Roman Catholics of the south-west. The most earnest attempts are made to bring this to bear, and the prevention of it alone can save that country from a general attempt, by means perhaps the most horrible, to throw off their dependance upon this government (if any they still have), and to form a new one for themselves.

The enthusiastic conviction of asserting *civil and religious rights*, superadded to the natural impetuosity of the Irish disposition, and aggravated by the most artful incentives to retaliate for the oppressions and confiscations of their ancestors, must fill every thoughtful person with the awful dread of scenes, at which humanity will shudder, and from which God of his mercy preserve us.

discovered from inquiries, that, so far from its uniting and consolidating the affections of the Irish with those of the British, a general discontent and disgust at the measure seemed to pervade all ranks of people throughout that country. He was assured by an Irish member of the Imperial Parliament, that although he had ever execrated the measure, he had voted for it uniformly from its proposal to its accomplishment; and that it was, he believed, cordially detested by ninety-nine out of one hundred of his countrymen. It was impossible not to see, that the consequences of the rebellion of 1798 had left an impression of vindictive soreness in the breasts of numerous individuals; and it was evident, that the union had not hitherto counteracted those effects. The efforts of some anti-unionists to discredit the measure, and render it unpopular, were increasing, not abating. To the disaffected, the union offered a plausible ground for indulging an acrimonious disgust at Government. Many of the venal supporters of that measure, having either gotten all they expected, or less than they thought themselves entitled to, were wickedly mischievous in endeavouring to bring it into contempt and hatred. Two powerful arguments were employed in traducing it in the eyes of the Catholics. To the supporters of the measure (they were far the majority),

majority), that they were swindled into that support by false promises and delusive expectations never intended to be realized. To the few who opposed it, it was argued (by the conduct of Government since the Union, the argument now affects the whole body), that their claims and interests will for ever be, as they hitherto have been, neglected, despised, or rejected by the Imperial Parliament. Such reasoning falling in with the seductive artifices of the restless, discontented, vindictive, and desperate (such there are in Ireland to this moment), tended in different ways to estrange the public mind from that affectionate confidence in Government, which is the natural supporter of duty and loyalty. Observation convinced the author, that the bulk of the *Orangemen* were from principle, disposition, and interest, determined *anti-unionists*; that with this body of men it had been long a practice to measure and appraise their own loyalty by traducing such of their fellow-subjects as they excluded from their societies (the exclusion of the Catholics extended to a population of nearly four millions), holding out their Catholic countrymen as rebels and traitors from disposition, principle, and religion; that the quintessence of *Orangism* was necessarily productive of disunion and enmity between the members of the *Orange* clubs, and those who
could

could not be admitted into them. The prevailing belief * that their Viceroy, when Colonel of the Cambridge

* Since the publication of the first edition of the *Postliminious Preface*, the author has been favoured with a document, which strongly repels the report of his Excellency's ever having been sworn into an *Orange lodge*. It was probably set afloat by the orangemen themselves, with a view to give respectability to their declining credit on one hand, and to follow up their innate spirit of disunion, by rivetting a diffidence between the mass of the people and the chief governor, on the other. During the time that the Cambridgeshire militia remained in Ireland, the chief, if not the only public lodges or societies then subsisting, were those of *Orange-men*, and they were then seen in the true light by this nobleman. He could not but be sensible of the artful practices of many members of these lodges and societies to exacerbate the spirit of the newly arrived troops beyond the generous and manly bravery of the British soldier. His Lordship accordingly issued the following salutary order, which has been sent to the author from a gentleman of respectability, as extracted from the Cambridgeshire regimental order book :

“ Dublin, April 17th, 1799.

“ REGIMENTAL ORDERS,

“ The Earl of Hardwicke having been informed that several
“ Lodges and Societies exist in this town and other parts of
“ Ireland, formed for party and other mischievous purposes,
“ under various denominations, makes it his particular request
“ to all the officers not to suffer themselves to become members of
“ any of them ; and all the non-commissioned officers, and soldiers,
“ are strictly forbidden to be members of any such lodges or
“ societies, or to frequent them under any pretence.

“ Any man discovered to have transgressed this order, must
“ expect the consequence of such disobedience.”

It is to be lamented, that when this noble Colonel became the Chief Governor of Ireland, some act of state was not passed

Cambridgeshire militia, had been sworn into an *Orange lodge* (the author has not attempted to verify the fact), tended to weaken the personal confidence of those, who considered all *Orangemen* indiscriminately bounden by ties and engagements adverse to the Catholic interests, and who experimentally remarked the exclusive preference and predilection of the members of that society in the dispensation of grace and favour from the Castle.

Under these impressions the author solicited, and was quickly honoured with an appointment to wait on Mr. Addington ; when he submitted to him, that the calumny, traduction, and misrepresentation, under which the bulk of the Irish laboured, was a national grievance ; that nothing could tend more powerfully to excite and promote rebellion, than to hold out, consider, and deal with them as with incorrigible rebels by disposition, principle, and religion : that the evil was increased by the countenance and forced circulation given to Sir R. Musgrave's *Memoirs of the Irish Rebellions* ; a work so false, inflammatory, and malignant, that Lord Cornwallis had been forced

passed for checking or breaking up all these lodges and societies, formed for party and other mischievous purposes, the evil tendency of which his Lordship once clearly saw and so prudently guarded his regiment against.

forced publicly to disclaim the dedication of it : that the Irish nation was pre-eminently fond of historical justice, and felt more sensibly than any other people the deprivation of it : that it therefore had become an object of national importance, that a fair, impartial, and authentic history of that country should be written, to counteract the effects of Sir R. Musgraves's, and such other *Orange* publications, in order to reconcile the public mind in Ireland to the measure of union. That the Premier might be put into the full possession of the author's sentiments upon the state of Ireland, he delivered to him a copy of the before-mentioned letter and paper, written twelve years before, and took the liberty of desiring that they might be kept by him as a test of his sentiments, and a pledge of his fidelity in executing the commission, which he then received, of writing an impartial and authentic history of Ireland, to shew the utility, and reconcile the Irish mind to the prospective advantages of the union. When on this occasion the author's proposal was acceded to by the Minister, a gracious remark accompanied that accession, that he was happy in employing the author's talents in an undertaking of so much utility to the public; and when reference was made to the observations of the Member of Parliament before noticed, upon the unpopularity

larity of the union, Mr. Addington observed, that *he feared that feeling was but too general in Ireland*. The author having consented to take the work in hand, and to go over to Ireland during the vacation, to procure materials and information, the Premier remarked, that the only remaining consideration was, to settle what compensation the author should be allowed for his time and trouble in going over to Ireland; the immediate reply was, that, confiding in the ultimate remuneration of Government, upon the accomplishment of his mission with fidelity, he should hope for the present, that some few hundred pounds would not be found unreasonable. The Minister consented to allow him three hundred pounds; one hundred to be paid down, the second hundred at Michaelmas, and the third hundred to be paid when the author should be ready to go to press. The Minister assured him he was to be put to no expense or disbursement in procuring the materials necessary for the undertaking; he was to publish in his own name, and at his own risk, and to take no advantage of the support and countenance of Government. The interview ended in the promise of such a recommendation to Mr. Abbott, the Secretary, as should in every sense secure to the author a satisfactory reception at the Castle.

having

Having collected some books upon the subject of Irish affairs, in London, he arrived in Dublin in the beginning of September 1801, where having opened his mission to Mr. Secretary Abbott, he was coldly received, and laconically assured, that without instructions he could give no countenance to an undertaking, to which he was till then an utter stranger. On that day the author reported himself to Mr. Addington, arrived in Dublin, and gave him an account of his reception at the Castle. Before any answer could have arrived to his letter, the author received a summons to attend at the castle, from Mr. Alexander Marsden, who informed him, that orders had been received from Downing-street, to furnish him with materials for writing the History of the Union. Mr. Under-Secretary, to whom the author was a stranger, received him very graciously, and conversed upon the subject of the undertaking for nearly two hours; he was particularly inquisitive about the period, from which the history was to be deduced, the size of the work, the probable time of its appearance, and the nature of the documents and materials, to which he wished to have access, or to be furnished with. To these inquiries it was answered, that the intention was to give to the public such a portion of Irish history as should shew the necessity of an incorporate union, by

contrasting the evils which that country had suffered from the want of union, against the advantages which they had a well-founded expectation of deriving from the enjoyment of it ; and meaning to write an *authentic* history, he should find it requisite to annex a copious appendix to the work, to which the readers might be referred for documents, that would be found tedious by some, if retailed in the body of it. Many state papers would therefore be wanting. This was instantly resisted ; and the author was given to understand, that documents of that nature were wholly inaccessible ; he was assured, with fully as much confidence as truth, that all such papers and documents were the property of the different secretaries, who carried them away upon quitting their office ; that in the progress of time, the papers of Lords *Hobart, Pelham, Castlereagh, &c.* might come to be published as historical curiosities, like those of *Strafford, Ormond, Essex, Boulter, &c.* Circumstanced as the author was, and considering Mr. Marsden as uttering the instructions of Mr. Secretary Abbot, who upon the first dawn of the undertaking had shewn his marked disapprobation of it, tamely remarked, that it was not for him to dictate ; he was under orders, and should endeavour to the best of his abilities to make the proper use of whatever materials he should

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be furnished with ; remarking at the same time, that a difference of opinion in the two cabinets appeared rather singular, now that the union had taken place. But as no authentic history could be written without the aid of the journals and statutes, they were instantly promised ; and when it was urged, that many proclamations, addresses, and other such pieces, could not be dispensed with, Mr. Under-Secretary replied, that as they had all appeared in different newspapers, the author might extract from them. Upon assurance, however, that after a diligent search through Dublin, no files of newspapers could be found, even for three years back, an offer was made to lend the author the regular files of the *Freeman's Journal*, which were kept in the Castle. From these, during his stay in Dublin, the author procured such extracts to be made by a scrivener as he conceived would be wanting for his history.

It was recommended to the author to wait again upon Mr. Abbott, who was only visible at the Castle on Tuesdays and Fridays, from the hours of eleven till four, upon business. On the ensuing Tuesday the author announced himself to Mr. Abbott at eleven, and was admitted at ten minutes before four o'clock. Mr. Secretary was on his legs, booted and spurred, on the point of departing : he made some excuse for having kept him

him so long in waiting, and gave him an order for the statutes and journals. On this day the author wrote fully to Mr. Addington upon his disappointment at his reception at the Castle ; observing, that the refusal of access to the state papers in Ireland would be of less consequence, as he presumed that duplicates of all the material documents must be found in England, and that it would rest with him to admit the author to them upon his return. During two months residence in Ireland, the author collected whatever materials and information he could acquire for his undertaking.

With very intense application, the author had, by the end of January 1802, prepared sufficient manuscript to go to press ; and as he had offered to submit it to the perusal of any person, whom Mr. Addington should appoint on his behalf, he carried the manuscript to Mr. Hiley Addington, who had hitherto been his paymaster, to know before whom the manuscript should be laid, and to solicit the third and last payment of one hundred pounds. Now, for the first time, the author remarked an unwillingness on the part of his employers that the work should go on. A peremptory refusal to make good the last payment alarmed him ; and he was astonished to be told by Mr. Hiley Addington, that it
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had been promised only after publication of the work; and moreover, that it might never become due, as the work, if disapproved of, might never be published at all. To this the author, with some firmness replied; he was confident, that, were he honoured with an interview with Mr. Addington, he could readily bring to his recollection the particulars of the proposal and agreement about the payment of the money: but as to the publication of the work, after the trouble which he had already taken, and that it was known to several, that he had engaged in the undertaking, it should be said by none, that he had failed in what he had taken in hand; and that the work should positively appear, though under the correction of Mr. Addington, as he had agreed, (and he never swerved from his word). He then had by him a folio manuscript of six hundred pages, ready to submit to perusal, and would engage regularly to furnish his censor and printer with a constant supply of manuscript till the whole should be completed.

Reflection upon what had passed with Mr. Hiley Addington, induced the author to solicit an interview with the Minister, expressing in his letter for that purpose, his astonishment at the misrepresentation of the agreement made by his
brother,

brother, who was not privy to it. After the lapse of some days he procured the honour of an appointment ; and, after he had waited some time with his manuscript in Downing Street, he was remitted to a future day by Mr. Hiley Addington. Five subsequent appointments were made and ended in the same manner : an unforeseen press of business, or the intervention of some one of more consequence prevented his admission. A fresh appointment brought the author and his manuscript a sixth time to Downing Street, where, after having waited for three quarters of an hour, he was in the old style again remitted to the following day. Upon retiring, the author was accosted by Mr. Hiley Addington, and imperiously told, that, had he chosen to have been punctual to his time, his brother would have seen him. The author replied, that he had arrived in Downing Street five minutes before the hour of appointment. *That cannot be*, said Mr. Hiley Addington ; and instantly demanded to see his note, which the author had not about him ; relying however on the correctness of his memory, he promised to be punctual also to the hour on the next day.

Suspensions now became convictions that Mr. Hiley Addington had adopted all the prepossessions and prejudices of certain gentlemen against the

the commission given to the author to write a history, which it was neither their wish nor their interest should appear in the garb of truth. He thenceforth considered him as the tool employed to provoke, irritate, or force the author into an abandonment of the undertaking. That was vain. Every such attempt put him upon his guard, and invigorated his determination to complete his labours, with punctilious attention to the terms of his original engagement. To this no third person was privy; and to the non-interference of a third person the author attributes the Minister's prompt candor and fairness in acceding to the terms of his original proposal. He gives credit to the Premier for uprightness of intention, where his feelings are not affected, his judgment warped, or his conduct overawed by art, influence, or power.

The next appointment was more fortunate to the author: he was admitted to the presence of the Minister for the first time since his return from Ireland; and with him he found Mr. Hiley Addington; whether as a witness, adviser, or controller, he knows not. The first word uttered at this meeting was by the author, who apologized to the Minister for the apparent inattention to his commands on the preceding day. He held the letter of appointment in his hand, offering to

shew it to the Premier, in justification of his punctuality. That this supposed or wished-for want of punctuality had been the subject of conversation, and perhaps of difference, between the brothers, was evident, from the Minister's then uttering these words, with a familiar nod, *I told you so, brother*. Instantly the letter was snatched violently out of the author's hand, from behind, by Mr. Hiley Addington, and committed to the flames. A dead silence ensued for about a minute. The author with difficulty believed, but fortunately reflected where he was. When ordered to be seated, he observed, that, to his mortification, he was received with a very different countenance from that which he had noticed at his last interview. Conscious of having pursued his engagement with unrelenting assiduity and punctilious fidelity, he entreated to be informed of the cause of the difference. He was sternly assured, that it rested with himself: for that he had been the only individual in the nation, who had the indelicacy to break in upon the Minister's feelings by pressing for an interview, when he was suffering under the domestic misfortune of his daughter's illness. The author's embarrassment and mortification were now turned into amazement. After the Minister had thrice attended in his place in the House of Commons,

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the author conceived there could be no indelicacy on that score in an insignificant individual's soliciting an interview upon private business. He had, however, an apology to offer for having unguardedly, and he now found most unwarrantably, presumed to intermix his sympathies with an official application to the Prime Minister of State; and he then recollected that in one of his notes he had presumed to say, *that he made large allowances to family feelings and anxiety, having himself been drenched in domestic calamity—* (the author alluded to the recent misfortune of his having lost his two eldest children). This interview ended in the Minister's consenting to pay the remainder of his engagement, and intimating to the author, who had with him a large folio volume of manuscript, that, if it were perused on his behalf, no responsibility would rest with the author; if otherwise, none would lie with the Minister. Mr. Addington appeared unwilling to name a person to peruse the manuscript, and left it to the discretion of the author, who undertook to use it to the best of his judgment.

It must be observed, that, before the author went to Ireland, he had made arrangements with Mr. Egerton for the publication of his work; but as he declined going to press, 'till he had come

to a thorough understanding with his employers, Mr. Egerton, from whom the author concealed nothing relating to the work, positively declined the undertaking, lest it might not be agreeable to Government; he accordingly wrote to Mr. Hiley Addington, to be distinctly informed, whether, by undertaking the work, he should please or displease the powers, upon which his interests as general bookseller to the army so materially depended. An assurance against any displeasure from Government, in a letter from Mr. Hiley Addington, brought back Mr. Egerton to his old, or induced him to form a new resolution to undertake it. The author's difficulties with his bookseller lasted some months.

The author continued his literary labours; and the printer manifested no ordinary exertions in forwarding the work. In the autumn of 1802, the History had been brought down to that period, at which it became necessary to have access to some modern state-papers; and as Irish affairs were frequently debated in the British Parliament, the author felt the want of the latter part of the British journals and debates. He had before made an unsuccessful application for them to Mr. Hiley Addington. He now found the necessity of the most guarded caution in all his communications with his employers. On Michael-

mas Day he wrote the following letter to the Minister:

SIR, *Essex-Street, 29th September 1802.*

Having reasonable expectations that my History will be published early in the month November, I feel it my duty to renew my application to you, to know whether it be your wish that I should be admitted to the sight of any of the state-papers relating to Ireland for these last twenty years, which I expected to have seen, when I was honoured with your recommendation to the Castle of Dublin. Of my disappointment on that head I wrote to you fully from Ireland last year. If not, I must conclude, as I have hitherto proceeded, with the aid of the shop and the stall. I humbly beg leave to repeat my request for the English Parliamentary debates from the conclusion of Chandler's. If you have any commands to honor me with, relating to the publication, they shall be faithfully attended to.

I have the honor to be, with the highest esteem and respect,

SIR,

Your most devoted and obedient,

Humble Servant,

FRANCIS FLOWDEN.

To the Rt. Hon. Henry Addington.

To this letter, after the lapse of six weeks, he received the following answer ;

SIR,

SIR, *Downing Street, Nov. 16, 1862,*

I am desired by my brother to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 29th September, and to apologize for having so long delayed to answer it. There seems *now* no possibility of

now
your having access to the state-papers which you mention; and my brother seems to think that any bookseller's shop can furnish you with the Parliamentary Debates.

I remain, SIR,

Your most obedient humble servant,

F. Plowden, Esq.

J. HILEY ADDINGTON*.

This letter bespoke a change in the mind and counsels of the Minister respecting the author's commission. The redundant eagerness in interlining an additional *now*, demonstrated the prominent zeal with which Mr. Hiley Addington conveyed this refusal of the author's request; and is evidence, that there had been a time, when such access to the state papers was intended to have been allowed. As, however, no countermand or fresh instructions were ever communicated to the author, his duty remained the same, from the acceptance

* These two letters are submitted to the public, as conclusive evidence, that the author ardently wished and earnestly endeavoured to lay before them, the whole truth of the Irish history; and that the present Minister, his whisperers, advisers, or directors, were determined to suppress as much of it as possible.

acceptance of his commission in August 1801, to the close of his labours in June 1803*.

Whoever considers, that a space of about one hundred and thirteen years from the Revolution
in

* The author submits to the reader the following letter to the Minister, written about one month before the publication, as a proof of his continued adherence to the spirit and terms of his original engagement.

SIR,

Essex Street, 12th May, 1803.

I have the honour to inform you, that I have at length come to the end of my laborious undertaking. But although I have finished the manuscript, it will be some time before the printer will have completed his part, as the Index and other matter of that sort proceed more slowly than the body of the work. When the whole is finished, I shall entreat your leave to present you a copy. The work has grown very considerably and very unexpectedly under my pen. It contains the quantity of four usual quarto volumes. Although its bulk have retarded the publication far beyond my expectation, yet I cannot help feeling that the present moment is providentially critical for its publication. As you, Sir, must know, better than I can, the powerful and artful means that are at present employed in Ireland to alienate the public mind and affections from the British Government, it is now imperiously necessary, that the Irish should feel the effects of the Union. I speak as I judge and feel, and I hope I may say without offence, *Discite justitiam moniti et non temere Lernam*. I take this opportunity of acknowledging your kindness in patronizing the work, and of assuring you of the punctilious fidelity, with which I have endeavoured to comply with the terms of my undertaking.

I have the honour to be, with the most profound respect and deference,

SIR,

Your devoted and obedient humble servant,

The Rt. Hon. Henry Addington.

FRANCIS PLOWDEN.

in 1688 to the Union in 1801, was a trackless, unbeaten, and perilous field for an historian to travel over, it will not surprise him, that the latter part of the work should have swollen into a bulk that far exceeded the author's original expectations. It is now before the public, as the British Critic observes, *with all its imperfections upon its head*. From the imperfections more or less incidental to all literary productions, it is not the intent of the author to undertake its defence. He has endeavoured throughout to use the undorned language of simplicity, as the appropriate vehicle of truth*. But as the truth of facts was the substantial object of his undertaking, he again asserts, that he is guilty of no intentional, and, he confides, of no actual deviation from this sacred duty of the historian.

After the work had made its appearance, it soon became evident to the author, from the total silence of the Minister and several of his colleagues, to whom he had sent it, that it had not altogether met that approbation, which the author once expected, and incessantly endeavoured to merit. The reluctance of his publisher to advertise, his slackness in subscribing, and backwardness

* *Nihil est in historiâ purâ et illustri brevitate dulcius.*

Cic. in Brut.

wardness in pushing the sale of the work, after the most urgent importunities of the author, became so many proofs of his acting under an influence, if not an indemnity to check the circulation of it. The work appeared in June, 1803, and its subsequent fate has created the necessity of this Postliminious Preface. It is no longer a private case; it is a public cause: it involves the dearest interests of the most important, because the most vulnerable part of the British empire. It will develop in detail, and fitting it is, that Ireland, that Great Britain, that the world should know who are the men, who oppose the emancipation of Ireland; what are their views and motives for such opposition, and what the ways and means of effectuating it.

In the intermediate time between the publication of the work and Michaelmas last, the author frequently and urgently solicited the Minister for an interview. It was at last accorded on the 28th of September, 1803. The circumstances under which the *Historical Review* was written and published, and the conduct of the Minister with reference to it, since its publication, render every act that affects the work, a matter of public concern; and sanctions, therefore, the publication of what passed in Downing Street upon the subject of it. The author submitted to the Minister,

nister, that, after the Herculean labour of bringing before the public such a body of history so peculiarly relevant to the critical circumstances of the day, it was a painful disappointment to him to have brought upon himself the displeasure and offence of the Minister, not for having disobeyed, but for having punctiliously adhered to the spirit and tenor of the terms of his commission and undertaking. Mr. Addington admitted the displeasure and offence, and went the length of assuming no small portion of merit for suppressing his indignation; he had not read a line of the work himself, but he was informed by others (who may have rested their charges upon report, as the Minister did his feelings), that the most unwarrantable freedom had been taken in speaking of certain characters, to which government looked up for the salvation of Ireland; that the general bearing and uniform spirit of the work diametrically contravened his intentions and expectations in countenancing and encouraging the undertaking; that the errors and faults (if any had ever existed) of his Majesty's servants ought to have been suppressed, not exposed; in a word, that the author should have striven to render his work palatable to his employers; and he then sorely lamented, that he had not procured it to be perused on his behalf. To these observations the author replied, that he
had

had been most explicit in disclosing the spirit, views, and motives of his undertaking, when he first made overtures to the Minister on the subject; that in addition to his verbal statement, he had left with him the written document laid before Messrs. Pitt and Dundas in 1792, as a pledge of his sentiments upon the state of Ireland, and the expediency of her being united with Great Britain. (Had these sentiments not been then approved of by the Minister, the work would not have been taken in hand.) That whatever subsequent changes had been produced in his mind, he had never condescended to communicate any of them to the author: that at all events, without revocation or countermand, his original instructions continued to bind and guide him in the execution of his commission. That it was moreover impossible for the author to suppose he meant to have an untrue and unfaithful history given to the public; that the very commission to write history was to a man of character, a special commission to write a *true* one; that had he written a partial, unfaithful, time-serving history, he might perhaps have looked up to him for grace, favour, or remuneration; but he must for ever have renounced the character of the historian: that it was beyond the powers of man to write a faithful history of recent events, especially

of such as had lately been exhibited in Ireland, without wounding the feelings of many of the actors in those scenes; but to meet those *defa-gremens*, the mind of the man, who took the pen in his hand to write modern history, was to be made up in the first instance. The author gave a solemn assurance to the Minister, remarking that he believed few historians would join him in the declaration, that he was ready to call God to witness, that he had not throughout the work related one historical fact, which he did not believe to be true, nor made an observation, by which he did not mean to promote peace, harmony, and good will between the inhabitants of the sister islands*.

Mr. Addington referred with peculiar emphasis to the question, which he observed, and the
author

* After the consciousness of upright intention, the next satisfactory reward of human actions in this life, is the approbation of the wise, great, and good man. On the 2d of January last, the author had the high gratification of receiving a letter from Mr. Grattan, upon his History, containing amongst other, the following testimony of his approbation: *You are one of the very few Irish historians, who have ventured to deal in the commodity called truth. You have done so like a man with vigour and ability against the tide of power and prejudice. You must look to the reward of merit, i. e. the censure of those, whose censure is panegyric. And Some of those, who have attempted to write the history of Ireland are men who sold themselves and the country. Their history is their apology, not the recitation of facts. They are bigots, and they are slaves, bought and sold. Your history carries in it a characteristic stamp, that it was written by a free man.*

author admitted, was very improperly called *Catholic Emancipation*; he took peculiar pains to convince the author, that his opinions upon that important subject had been made up on the purest motives of conscience. The author here observed, that he was the last man in the world to refuse to others what he himself claimed so strongly, against the prejudices and even against the laws of his country, namely, the right of forming his own conscientious convictions. Mr. Addington then remarked, that he repented not having sooner reflected what must have been the author's sentiments upon this question, *by the resistance of which he stood in that house*, and which he should ever continue to oppose till his latest breath; and he added, that the author knowing, as he must have known, his, (the Minister's) sentiments upon this subject, ought, from the nature of his employment, to have paid peculiar deference to them in his History. The author admitted, that he was in part aware of his *public* opinion upon the question of *Catholic Emancipation*, and being himself a Catholic, he had scrupulously refrained from making a single observation of his own upon that subject in the History: adhering to the strictest duty of the annalist in the faithful narration of what others had said and done upon it. *That*, replied Mr. Addington, *might be more effectual*.

effectual than any thing of your own. The author would not dissemble, that whilst he was writing, he so conceived it would be. The Minister manifested more than ordinary astonishment, apparently not unmixed with anger, when the author informed him, that he had given in a note to his History the papers put into the hands of Earl Fingall, and Dr. Troy, by Mr. Pitt, and Marquis Cornwallis, respecting their going out of office upon their inability to carry the Catholic question*. The author met the rising displeasure of the

* In Mr. Pitt's paper the Catholics are assured, that the then leading part of his Majesty's Ministers finding unsurmountable obstacles to the bringing forward measures of concession to the Catholic body, whilst in office, had felt it impossible to continue in administration under the inability to propose it with the circumstances necessary to carrying the measure with all its advantages, and they had retired from his Majesty's service, considering this line of conduct as most likely to contribute to its ultimate success. The Catholic body might with confidence rely on the zealous support of all those who then retired, and of many who remained in office, when it could be given with a prospect of success. They might be assured that Mr. Pitt would do his utmost to establish their cause in the public favour, and prepare the way for their finally attaining their objects.

Marquis Cornwallis's paper is intitled, *The Sentiments of a sincere Friend to the Catholic Claims*. It purports, that if the Catholics should proceed to violence, or entertain any ideas of gaining their object by convulsive measures, or forming associations with men of Jacobinical principles, they must of course lose the support and aid of those, who have sacrificed their own situations in their cause; but who would, at the same time, feel it

the Premier, by submitting to him the utter impossibility of suppressing documents of such consequence, which manifested to the nation, or rather to the whole British empire (they are not slightly affected by the change) the grounds, upon which Mr. Pitt and his friends retired from office; consequently of those, upon which his successors came in. In the course of this interview Mr. Addington very distinctly, and very forcibly, thrice intimated to the author, that by his pledged resistance to this question of Catholic emancipation, he had come into and continued *in that house*. The author presuming, that his Majesty had other motives for promoting him to that important station, took the liberty of expressing his hopes, that he was not inexorable in that opposition; he replied, he was not to be moved from it.

Another topic of conversation at this interview was far from being unimportant to the public. The primary object of the author's commission
was

it to be their indispensable duty to oppose every thing tending to confusion.

On the other hand, should the Catholics be sensible of the benefits they possess by having so many characters of eminence pledged not to *embark in the service of Government except on the terms of the Catholic privileges being obtained*, it is to be hoped, that in balancing the advantages and disadvantages of their situation, they would prefer a quiet and peaceable demeanour to any line of conduct of an opposite description. Vide Hist. Rev. vol. ii. p. 944.

was to convert the truth of Irish history into evidence of the utility and advantages of incorporate union ; it was but therefore consistent, that the historian should, as far as truth would bear him out, commend the system of Marquis Cornwallis's government of that country. The commendation of that humane, just, and firm governor became indirect censure upon the opposite system of government pursued by his immediate predecessor ; and the author submitted to the Premier, that he did not conceive he could do more honour to Earl Camden, than to say of him what the Earl of Clare avowed in the Irish-Lords in January 1798, that the system of coercion was extorted from him ; and as it was evident, that this system had diffused a wide and deep sense of soreness and disaffection throughout the country, it became the duty of the historian to remove the odium of those measures, as far as truth would allow, from the door of the British cabinet. He had therefore thrown it where it immediately rested, upon a certain triumvirate, who then monopolized the political power of that country. They have since been chiefly removed from it by the hand of God or the power of the executive. The author was here sharply interrogated, whether he could for an instant presume it to have been the Minister's wish or intention, that a syllable should have dropped from

from the author's pen to the disparagement of the respectable names of *Clare*, *Foster*, and *Beresford*. He scouted the idea of any difference of principle or system in the two governments of Earl Camden and Marquis Cornwallis. It was an identity of spirit and principle applicable to the varying circumstances of a rising, raging, and expiring rebellion *. Mr. Addington very significantly

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assured

* Such also was the language of every other gentleman connected with or dependant upon the present administration, with whom the author, at any time since the publication of his history, has conversed upon the subject of it. They have been all taught to identify the spirit and principle of the governments of Earl Camden and Marquis Cornwallis; as if a besotted public would second their attempt to varnish over a system of discord, blood, and terror (the discordant part of it has been since revived), with the wisdom and lustre of the opposite measures of his immediate successor; or to defile the moderate, humane, just, firm, and uniting system of Marquis Cornwallis with the slightest tint, shade, or spirit of that system of acerbity, which the late Lord Clare vaunted had been extorted from Earl Camden. So spoke Mr. Wickham to the author on the 24th day of July last (the day after the late explosion in Dublin). In a conversation of nearly two hours, Mr. Secretary distinctly disclosed to the author the grounds of the Minister's displeasure and offence at his history: it treated with unseemly freedom some of the most revered characters of that nation: it spoke disrespectfully of persons (the Orange-men) to whom Government looked up for the salvation of the country: it retailed horrors beyond those of the French revolution. When the author surmised the probability of some immediate attempts of the discontented in Ireland, he was boastingly assured of the unprecedented tranquillity and content diffused through the country by means of the mild and conciliatory measures of the Cast.

Thus

assured the author, that he knew not the grounds, views, or motives, of Lord Cornwallis's actions.

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Thus also spoke Viscount Castlereagh to the author on the 15th of August; and who should better know the different systems, than the Secretary at the close of Lord Camden's and through the whole of Lord Cornwallis's administration? He also identified the views, spirit, principles, and measures of the two governments. When this Noble Lord assured the author, that he had never before that day heard of such a work as the *Historical Review*, the author apologized for not having sent a copy of it to his Lordship, fearing thereby to offend him, as he conceived he had offended others. The author was probably more sensible than an indifferent person of his Lordship's ignorance of the publication two months after it had been before the public. His astonishment however abated on reflecting, that this was the same Noble Lord, who in the Imperial House of Commons on the 18th of March 1801, (Vide Parl. Reg. 435) in all the pomp of official solemnity alleged, that no torture had been used in Ireland under the authority, or with the approbation of Government. Notwithstanding it be matter of lamentable notoriety, that triangles were kept in daily and often in hourly agitation on the Royal Exchange, on the old Custom-house Quay, in Mr. Beresford's Riding-house, the Prevost at the Barracks, in the Arsenal-yard within the Castle, and other places in Dublin, for several months together, in the year 1798, when this Noble Lord was Secretary, and consequently must have known, that such unconstitutional engines (how could he be ignorant?) were worked with the authority and approbation of that Government, of which he was the active minister. The sufferings and cries of these tortured victims were certainly calculated to make a deeper impression upon his Lordship's conceptions and memory, than Mr. Egerton's extensive advertisements of the *Historical Review*. This ignorance and denial of the Government's sanctioning the torture seemed confined to this Noble Lord; for even Mr. J. C. Beresford admitted (Parl. Reg. 439) such seve-
rities

This the author admitted the possibility of; he could not however presume, that in so manly, humane, just, and noble a character, there lurked in the back ground any views or motives imperious to the observation of every candid bystander; and he asserted with more than ordinary firmness, that he had, notwithstanding, reason for insisting, that his Lordship's *sentiments with regard to Ireland were well known by the measures he pursued, and those which he recommended**.

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gilities to have been really exercised in many cases; that punishments had been inflicted for the purpose of extorting confessions from those who were suspected to have concealed arms, he would not, and it would be unmanly in him to deny. Such, finally, was the language, not indeed of Lord Pelham, but of his confidential friend and secretary Sir George Shee, Baronet. The author fears the presentation of a copy of his work proved offensive to this Noble Lord; for all that he heard of its reception from Sir George Shee was, that the representation made by the author (*Hist. Rev.* vol. ii. 667) of his Lordship's resignation under a disgust at the system of blood, in sympathy with Earl Camden, was an erroneous and false statement. He was assured by the Honorable Baronet, that disease alone prevented him from continuing to co-operate in measures, which he cordially approved of, and to the prosecution of which he was eager to return, had his state of health allowed him so to do. The author promised to seize the earliest opportunity to recant his error; it has now become necessary, as a contrary opinion has prevailed, namely, that he quitted the country under a want of nerve to weather the storm, which the system had so effectually raised.

* The author had at that time in his pocket a letter from the Marquis, containing those words, which however he did not shew to the minister.

The result of this interview with the Premier convinced the author more forcibly than ever of the powerful interest attempted to be raised against the question of *Catholic emancipation* ; and that its having been made the ground of resignation in the last, and the tenure, by which the present administration hold their offices, it becomes an object of very interesting anxiety to a very large and very important part of the British empire. As the author abstained in the body of his History from making any observations upon the merits of the question, he now confines himself to the statement of some of the consequences of the extreme vehemence, with which the opposition to that question is maintained, and of the effects it produces upon the people, whom it chiefly affects. The question having been of such magnitude as to give either cause or pretext for the resignation of Mr. Pitt and his friends in the most awful crisis of public affairs, the thoughts of every observer of the political events of the day must at one time or other have been turned to the consideration of it. It has latterly become of the more singular importance, from having brought the two great rival statesmen to a full coincidence of opinion upon the imperious necessity of the measure. Mr. Fox, and the adherents to his political principles, have always, and under
all

all circumstances, been staunch advocates for the measure, upon large constitutional grounds. Mr. Pitt, after having for nearly twenty years resisted or kept back the question, after having experienced the effects of withholding it, after having contemplated the fatal consequences of a dire rebellion, and after having, by the most extraordinary exertions of Government influence, composed the troubles of distracted Ireland in the uniting arms of Great-Britain, became so sincere a convert to the opinions of his rival upon this question, that he sacrificed his political existence to the truths, which he had so long combated, resisted, or evaded. Experience of the want of that measure through the awful period of fifteen years of the most convulsed politics ever recorded in history, taught him a lesson, which his great mind could no longer stand against. His heroic retirement from office on such constitutional grounds reconciled many of his former opponents to his uprightness and sincerity, and in the eyes of his friends it raised him to the pinnacle of political greatness.

While the Earl of Rosslyn was the keeper of his majesty's conscience, the question was first moved and publicly mooted, whether the emancipation of Ireland would be an infringement of the coronation oath. The doctrine was particularly

ticularly enforced in the enfeebling hour of disease, and the impression gained with convalescence. Many pamphlets appeared on each side. It created a new point for political adventurers to rally round ; all the seceders from Mr. Pitt, who emulated not his virtue in sacrificing situation to principle, ranged themselves under this new banner. Individuals from every party fell occasionally into the treasury ranks. Some solemnly recanted their opinions ; others, with an affected blush at open prostitution, pretended to retain their maiden principles, but deprecated the time for giving them effect *. All were well received. On one side the whole corps in office, flanked by all the dependants and expectants upon Government patronage, and supported by certain members of the two hierarchies †, British and Hibernian, maintained, that

Catholic

* When this subject was brought before the British Parliament, it was observed by Mr. Fox, that there were two seasons, in which it was sure to be resisted by Ministers, viz. *war* and *peace*. In the Irish Parliament, it was remarked by Mr. Grattan and Mr. G. Ponsonby, that it was always proposed either *too soon or too late*.

† Several members of the established church, highly respected for their liberality and knowledge, are of a contrary opinion ; witness the learned and reverend Prelate of Landaff, who has not scrupled, in the year 1803, to make the following open, manly, and Christian declaration ; (Vide the Substance of a

Speech

Catholic emancipation as it is termed, would be a direct violation of the coronation oath. They were attended by large bodies of freebooters : the ferocious Orange-men were eager to offer their services, in which they might revel in their lust for traducing, reviling, and oppressing their Catholic countrymen. On the other hand, the public

Speech intended to have been spoken in the House of Lords, p. 27.) " We think the Catholics to be in error : they think " the same of us : both ought to reflect that every error is not " a criminal error ; and that their error is the greatest, who " most err against Christian charity. If any one should con- " tend, that this is not the time for Government to make con- " cessions to Ireland, I wish him to consider, whether there " is any time, in which it is improper for either individuals " or nations to do justice, any season improper for extinguishing " animosity, any occasion more suitable than the present for " putting an end to heart-burnings and internal discontent. I " should be as averse as any man from making concessions to " an enemy invading the country : but I would do much to " gain a cordial friend to assist me in driving him back ; " and such a friend, I am confident, Ireland would become."

A like spirit of liberality and moderation must have inspired the breast of the Primate of the British hierarchy, when he modelled the form of prayer, in which the nation last year invoked the Divine protection and blessing on the solemn fast-day : " Give us all grace to put away from us all rancour " of religious dissention, that they who agree in the essentials " of our most holy faith, and look for pardon through the " merits and intercession of the Saviour, may, notwithstand- " ing their differences upon points of doubtful opinion, and " in the forms of external worship, still be united in the bonds " of Christian charity, and fulfil thy blessed Son's command, " ment, of loving one another as he hath loved them."

lic beheld the unusual phenomenon of the great political rivals, with their respective friends and adherents, maintaining the imperious necessity of the measure, and denying that the free will of the executive can in any possible case be constitutionally fettered from assenting to whatever bill the Lords and Commons in Parliament assembled may advise ; that the coronation oath, by its words and spirit, enjoins the observance of existing laws ; and the constitution leaves them essentially open to repeal and modification, according to the exigencies of times and circumstances. It is at this moment an awful consideration to a reflecting mind, that upon the liberty and welfare of four millions of his Majesty's subjects, inhabiting the most vulnerable part of the British empire, the whole body politic is drawn out in full array, every one dreading the word of command. In this unaccountable suspense, fear, or stupor, the passive victims are silent and quiet—*plectuntur Achivi*. The most lamentable effect of this perilous state of things, is, that the straggling corps of freebooters and marauders, presuming on their commissions, which recognise them as an irregular part of the general force, are permitted and encouraged to commence a masked warfare. They are let loose unmuzzled, fresh trained to the old game, without badge, name, or responsibility.

The

The war-hoop of defamation, slander, and opposition has long been given. Every engine has been put in requisition, that can be commanded to spread again wide and deep the baneful spirit of *religious* discord. As if Ireland, poor ill-fated Ireland, had not yet been saturated with blood and wretchedness! As if Great Britain feared that union should expel the dæmon of dissention, and diffuse indiscriminate concord through that long-distracted country, the Government papers in England are fed from Ireland with the foulest calumnies and falsehoods. The nauseous cant of bigotted mendacity is largely administered, as a provocative to stimulate the wasting lust for religious persecution. They are the unadministered doses, with which Ireland has been overgorged, sent under Drogheda covers to take their fate upon such British patients as shall madly swallow them. Such anonymous discharges of rancorous falsehoods, even in the supposed pay of Government *, would produce but slight effects upon the

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impartial

The *Times* being the official Government paper, has with certain persons the authority of a British *Moniteur*. This paper, for the 5th January 1804, in a letter signed *Molynaux*, sets out in telling us that, "the disaffection and turbulence which have disgraced Ireland for above twenty years, have arisen from a radical ignorance in the English Government, of its real state." This is a prelude to a second letter of the same

hireling,

impartial public, were they left to operate by their mere intrinsic virtue. If in spite of St. Patrick's wand, there still be found some envenomed reptiles in the holy island, the dunghills in which their baneful eggs are hatched, may be easily traced to *Merrion Avenue*, or the vicinity of Lismore. The venomous issue may be followed home through all their windings, forms, and craft, to the parent vipers. These poisonous mondescripts have, however, the peculiarity of being innoxious to all but to their kindred spawn.

The author has already endeavoured to convince his reader of the real and true grounds upon which he proposed, and the Minister acceded to his writing a History of Ireland. Yet, ere he quits the subject, he submits to the public this written declaration, which he made to Mr.

Addington,

hireling, in *The Times* of the 9th January, in which he himself says, that the author's "*voluminous work is*" a gross libel on the "*conduct of the British Government!*" From *Molynceux's* commendation of the *British Critic*, it may be inferred, that those valuable and well-founded invectives have been made up in the gross by the same hand; to which also may be attributed some other such potions sent forth in the *Traveller*, for the benefit of his British country customers: in which may be read this description of all his Catholic countrymen: whose *wants and wishes are*, says he, *to exterminate all loyal subjects from Ireland, to seize their property, to separate it for ever from England, and to appropriate it exclusively to themselves: and this object they have invariably pursued ever since the Reformation was introduced into Ireland.* Such are these Doctors' Union pills.

Addington, in a letter of the 26th of July 1803, which was never honoured with an answer.

“ SIR, *Essex-Street, 26th July 1803.*

“ I am sorry to find, from a conversation
 “ with Mr. Wickham, that the long and painful
 “ labours I have undergone to promote union
 “ and affection in the sister kingdom, have in
 “ some shape failed of the desired effect; and
 “ that it is found impracticable to give public
 “ countenance to the circulation of my History.
 “ I lament, that the same object can be seen in
 “ such opposite lights. I appeal, Sir, to your
 “ candour, whether the express conditions, under
 “ which I took the work in hand were not, to
 “ write an authentic, impartial, and true History
 “ of Ireland, to counteract the effects of Sir
 “ Richard Musgrave’s falsities and calumnies, to
 “ render the union popular, and follow up and
 “ support the spirit of Lord Cornwallis’s admi-
 “ nistration. To effect this, it became essentially
 “ necessary to decry that system, which Lord
 “ Cornwallis so pointedly reprobated; nor could
 “ those persons be consistently praised or pal-
 “ liated, against whom he had either expressed
 “ or shewn displeasure, or offence. I have
 “ laboured incessantly and zealously to inculcate,
 “ on every occasion, gratitude to his most gra-
 “ cious Majesty for the many signal favours con-

"ferred upon the Irish Catholics during his
 "reign; to display the advantages of union in
 "the most fascinating colours, and to convince
 "the people of that country, that it is the inten-
 "tion of the present Government to tread in the
 "footsteps of Lord Cornwallis, and not in those
 "of his predecessor. I have necessarily thrown
 "the odium of certain measures upon a junto in
 "Ireland, whose monopoly of power I neither
 "did or do conceive the present Government
 "wishes to revive or support. I have laboured
 "all I could to purify the British Government in
 "the eyes of the Irish nation, and to make them
 "sensible of the advantages of the union from
 "the innate and unvarying corruption of their
 "own Parliament," &c. Such were the senti-
 ments of the author, not obliquely hinted at,
 ambiguously assumed, or obscurely stated, but
 explicitly urged both before and after publication,
 perhaps, *ad nauseam*. Great then was his surprise,
 when he observed the mind of the Minister ob-
 stinately bent upon inverting, counteracting, and
 undervaluing the measures of Lord Cornwallis's
 administration; greater, when he passed in review
 the long procession of characters implicated in,
 dependant upon, or interested in the continu-
 ance of the present system of government in
 Ireland, who now fill high offices in the state,
 and

and command an influence upon his Majesty's councils: all combining to revive, extend, and give permanency to the Machiavelian principle, so fatal to Ireland, *divide et impera*. The author undertakes not to combat these principles. He pretends not to lay, but to expose to view the *Orange* spirit, which lies a deadly *incubus* upon the present Ministry of the country. If Ireland, after the union, be not emancipated, fitting it is, that the Irish should know the men * and the measures,

* The irritation and virulence of the British Critic, and other anonymous writers, who are stimulated and hired to disgorge their venom at the *Historical Review*, shew, and it has become the author's duty to unfold, the conspiracy, formed, not merely against *Catholic emancipation*, but against the publication of *the truth* of Irish history. Her masked assassins indiscriminately plunge their envenomed steel in the breast of every votary to truth. *Tros Tyriusve mibi nullo discrimine habetur*. Protestant, Catholic, churchman, layman, are equally included in their deadly warrant. The author has in his possession a letter, written within these two months, from the Rev. Mr. Gordon, whose faithful and impartial History of the Rebellion of 1798, is too well known to all, who make common cause with truth, to need commendation. They will rejoice to learn, that this diligent investigator and illustrious martyr to truth is employing his literary talents upon a more extended scale. "I am," says he, "engaged for some time past in a History of Ireland, from the earliest accounts to the present time, and hope that you will find that impartiality in it, which you have had the goodness to praise in my Account of the Rebellion; on account of which I have been, and am most maliciously and meanly persecuted, to the discredit of many professors of the Protestant religion."

measures that keep them out of this long-sighed-for land of promise.

In the front of their opponents stands conspicuously forward the Lord High Chancellor of Ireland, Baron Redesdale. The fierceness of his zeal bespeaks all the precipitancy and heat of a recent proselyte to the cause. What powerful potion has effected the stupendous change of a liberal English Solicitor-general into an austere Irish Chancellor, the reader may, the author cannot, discover. The public has now had before them a chain of polemical correspondence between that noble Lord and the Earl of Fingall, the first in rank of the body of Irish Catholics. The circumstance of Lord Hardwicke's desiring the Chancellor to put that Noble Earl into the commission of the peace, gave occasion to this extraordinary correspondence. When Sir John Mitford brought a bill into the British House of Commons, in favour of the English Catholics, he is presumed to have thoroughly considered, for he then expressed himself well pleased with the tenets, principles, and conduct of that body, which received great benefit under his act. The nation rejoiced: The Catholics were grateful, Local circumstances may occasion a difference in the actions and conduct of the Irish from those of the English Catholics: but all the tenets and principles

principles of the Roman Catholic church being common to all the members of it, whether resident in England or Ireland, his Lordship's objections to Catholic doctrine must have had the same force (if any force they have) against the English Catholics in 1790, and the Irish in 1803. Not a man, who had not read his hyperpolemical ebullition, could believe it possible, that the great arbiter of national equity, the prime adviser of his Majesty's councils, and keeper of his conscience, should descend to become the Æolus of polemical discord, in a nation still throbbing with the green wounds of religious rancour. Reason will not second the warmest wish to exculpate the Irish Chancellor from making charges he knew to be false and groundless. The act, of his own introduction, requires, from every English Catholic, both a declaration of his adherence in spirituals to the see of Rome and an oath of allegiance to a Protestant King. He did not then think them incompatible. The Legislature does not now think them incompatible. The author knows not to what account to place the confusion of the terms *defection from the see of Rome, rebellion, and allegiance*, in the following sentence of his first letter. " Until the priests of
 " the Roman Catholic persuasion shall cease to
 " inculcate, that all who differ from them in
 " religious

“ religious opinions are to be considered as
 “ guilty ~~of~~ defection from the see of Rome, that
 “ is, as guilty of rebellion, including his Majesty’s
 “ sacred person in that description, it cannot
 “ be expected, that vulgar men should think
 “ themselves bound by any tie of allegiance to a
 “ King, thus represented to them, as himself
 “ guilty of a breach of what is termed a higher
 “ duty of allegiance.” The most uninformed
 parish priest throughout the four provinces of
 Ireland would have blushed thus to abuse the
 terms and confound the duties of the subject
 and the Christian.

Who would suppose that these sentiments were
 written by the dispenser of that church in Ireland,
 which, by their ninth and eleventh canon, deals
 out excommunication *ipso facto*, upon all those,
 who shall hereafter separate themselves from the
 communion of saints, as it is approved by the
 apostle’s rule *in the church of England*, and com-
 bine themselves *in a new brotherhood*, &c. and
 those, who affirm and maintain that any other
 assembly or congregation of the King’s subjects,
than those of the church of England, may rightly
 challenge to themselves the name of true and
 lawful churches, &c. Is he to be presumed igno-
 rant of the tenet of exclusive salvation so strongly
 asserted in the Athanasian creed, and the eighteenth
 of

of the thirty-nine articles of religion, to which every clergyman must subscribe ere he can enjoy any of his Lordship's benefices? No religion can be inculcated to man, but upon the score of truth : and truth is one. The Irish Catholics have been uninterruptedly loyal *de facto* to Protestant princes since the Revolution in 1668 : but this zealous champion would now argue them out of the very possibility of their loyalty for want of brotherhood in Christ with a Protestant prince. Does his Lordship recollect that Dissenters (though by the canons of his church an *excommunicated brotherhood*) are loyal to King George, who is of the established church of England, and that the Protestants of the same established church were loyal to King William, a Presbyterian? When this polemic Chancellor complained *that Dr. Troy, in his Pastoral Instructions on the Duties of Christian Citizens, holds up high the exclusive doctrine*, did he reflect whether he had himself, or how many of his most confidential friends had ever subscribed, professed, assented, or sworn to these words, *This is the Catholic faith, which except a man believe faithfully he cannot be saved?* But slight reflection on the doctrine of his own church, would have made the noble Lord more cautious in charging the Catholics, on account of this very doctrine, *with the impossibility of ever being dutiful and loyal subjects of a King thus held*

out to them as himself a rebel. What degree of ignorance, however gross, can justify this indecorous abuse of the word *rebel*? The annexation of it to the person of his Majesty revolts against every principle of affection and loyalty. Little indeed are the expectation or desire of promoting those necessary civil duties, amongst his Majesty's subjects of Ireland, discoverable in the following sentiments of this evangelizing statist: "Under
 " such circumstances, it cannot be believed that
 " any honest and conscientious means have or
 " will be taken by the priests of the Romish persuasion to make the lower orders of the people,
 " composing their congregations, loyal subjects
 " of the Protestant Government of this country." And he strongly expresses his opinion, that Catholic doctrine *is repugnant to the repose of mankind*. This Noble Peer has not deigned in all his zeal to account for his pacificating mission. *How shall they preach except they be sent?* (Rom. x. 15.) He will not, however, renounce the commendation of his evangelical labours. *How beautiful are the feet of them that preach the Gospel of peace, and bring glad tidings of good things!*

The author has given these few extracts from Lord Redesdale's letter to shew to the public the new bent of his Lordship's mind towards the bulk of the Irish nation, and what eagerness to gain and secure their affections to the British government,

vernment, now animates the Noble Keeper of his Majesty's conscience in Ireland. However ill-judged (it is impossible to presume ill-intended), the exacerbation of past horrors may prove, it must all be laid to the account of *conscience*. That wide-expanded title admits under it an incalculable variety of articles. The fourth letter of this singular correspondence, however, contains an item that the most pliant ingenuity will scarcely force into the account of *conscientious convictions*. It relates to the case of the Rev. Mr. O'Neil, a Roman Catholic parish priest, lately returned from New South Wales. His Lordship complains, "that a priest, proved to have been guilty, of sanctioning the murders of 1798, transported to Botany Bay, and since pardoned by the mercy of Government, has been brought back in triumph, and by the same superior, to what in defiance of the law he calls *his parish*; and there placed as a martyr, in a manner the most insulting to the feelings of the Protestants, to the justice of the country, and to that Government to whose lenity he owes his redemption from the punishment due to *his crimes*." The Irish public has long known, and the British public now knows, what the Chancellor ought to have known ere he committed such acrimonious errors to paper, namely, that Mr. O'Neil never was found guilty of any crime, and consequently,

that he could not have been pardoned : that he was flogged, even to evisceration, for the purpose of extorting from him the secrets of the confessional ; that he was sent out to Botany Bay against the express order of Lord Cornwallis ; that he was called home by Lord Hardwicke, because he was an innocent man ; and that, for the same reason, was he reinstated in his parish by his superior. A lamentable proof of the revival of the old system of encouraging and acting upon false reports ! It had surely been wise, if Lord Chancellor Redesdale, like the great and humane Cornwallis, had checked this pernicious and wicked system, which so efficaciously stimulated the rebellion of 1798.

The doctrine of denying not only *actual* but *possible* loyalty to the body of Irish Catholics was imported by some unaccountable means into this country. To the astonishment of the British nation, his Majesty's Attorney-general (the brother-in-law of the Irish Chancellor) *volunteered* in the Imperial House of Commons, with reference to the Irish question, the following declaration :
 “ That the House should be deeply impressed
 “ with the expediency of guarding against the
 “ danger of alienating one part of the community,
 “ whose affections they were sure of, in attempt-
 “ ing to conciliate another part, *they knew they*
 “ *never could possess.*” (*Report of Parliamentary*
Debate

Debate in Morning Post, August 12, 1803.) Little could such language tend to conciliate the affections of his Majesty's Protestant and Catholic subjects of Ireland.

It is matter of notoriety, that at this hour out of 110,000 seamen of the British navy, full 70,000 are Irish, and most of them Roman Catholics; and few are aware of the large proportion of his Majesty's army composed of the same description of persons. The affections of such a prolific nursery for the public service, is not a matter of indifference to the welfare of the empire. Whenever the question of their emancipation shall be brought forward, it will remain to be seen, what part will be taken in it by those gentlemen in particular now in office, who have had the opportunity of practically knowing the effects of the various systems produced by the several administrations in Ireland, with which they have been connected, or on which they have depended, or do depend.

The same earnestness, which actuated the author in investigating and disclosing as much of the truth of Irish history as he could come at, induced him to submit the manuscript of this *Postliminious* Preface to the Minister, that he might render it in every shape unexceptionable in point of veracity. He accordingly had the honour of laying before him the manuscript, accompanied by the following letter,

SIR,

SIR, *Essex Street, Feb. 2, 1804.*

When I was honoured with an interview on the 28th of September last, you assured me, that you lamented not having acceded to my offer of submitting the manuscript of my History to some person on your behalf. From the circumstances of that History's having given you both displeasure and offence, although you had not read one line of it, as you avowed to me on that same day, and from a most extraordinary, though not unaccountable tenacity in Mr. Egerton, my bookseller, in checking the sale of the work, I have found myself necessitated, in justice to my reputation, to my family, and to the Irish nation, whom your conduct affects more than the writer of their history, to publish a Postliminious Preface. Inasmuch, therefore, as that will form a part of the work which I wrote with your approbation, and in the strictest conformity with the spirit and tenor of my proposals expressed to you, both by word and writing, it is but consistent with the honesty, honour, and candour, which have guided my whole conduct towards you, to afford you an opportunity of perusing this part of the work in manuscript before the sheets are drawn off, pledging myself to correct any misstatement of fact, that your memory or knowledge may enable you to rectify before publication, and in which I may have erred. As an historian, I am little anxious
about

about form and style ; I wish to be clear and explicit in detail, simple and correct in language. As to historical truth, I am inexorable ; I may be deceived myself, but whilst I possess my reason I never shall be brought to lend a hand in deceiving others. If before Monday you shall have pointed out to me no false or erroneous statements in the manuscript now left for your perusal, I shall conclude that it is in every point of view what I intended it should be, a true and faithful account of my writing the Historical Review of the State of Ireland. After the fate of that work, the interest and welfare of Ireland, and the consequent firmness of the British empire, call for the publication of such an account. I have the honour to be, with most profound deference and respect,

Sir, your devoted and obedient

Humble servant,

FRANCIS PLOWDEN.

Right Hon. Henry Addington.

On the ensuing Sunday the author was honoured with the following answer :

Downing Street, Feb. 5, 1804.

Mr. Addington has received Mr. Plowden's letter and the manuscript which accompanied it ; Mr. Addington abstains from suggesting any alteration in the latter, but cannot forbear remarking its extreme inaccuracy, as far as it relates to communications,

munications, that have taken place between Mr. Plowden and himself.

The reader will perhaps agree with the author, that after the receipt of this answer further application to the Premier, for the purpose of revisal and correction, would have been obtrusive and fruitless. The answer, however, admits the truth of the whole Preface, except such parts of it as relate to the communications, which have taken place between that Right Honourable Gentleman and the author. As he remarks the *extreme inaccuracy* of the statement of those communications, without condescending to point out in what it consists, the author is at a dead fault to know what parts to alter or correct. For he is free to say, that after a most rigorous revisal of the manuscript, and impartial reflection upon his communications with the Minister, he is ready to do, with respect to the Preface, what he once told the Minister (he now repeats it) with reference to his History; he is ready to swear, that no part whatever of this statement is false, or substantially inaccurate.

THE END.

AN
HISTORICAL DISQUISITION
CONCERNING THE
RISE, PROGRESS, NATURE AND EFFECTS
OF THE
ORANGE SOCIETIES
IN
IRELAND,

Intended as an Introduction to a work in hand, to be entitled

THE
HISTORY OF IRELAND,
FROM ITS UNION WITH GREAT BRITAIN ON THE 1st. OF
JANUARY, 1801, TO THE YEAR, 1810.

BY
FRANCIS PLOWDEN, Esq.

Incorrupta fides, nudaque veritas.

DUBLIN:
PRINTED BY R. COYNE, 165, CAPEL-STREET.

1810.

h-2. 2



PREFACE.

THE Author was once upbraided for having volunteered his services in bringing before the public his *Historical Review of the State of Ireland*.* He now presents himself before the public, no longer as a *Volunteer*, but as regularly enlisted, and fulfilling the indispensable obligations of his oath of engagement. It is some time since he swore *without any evasion, equivocation or mental reservation, to defend King George the Third, to the utmost of his power, against all*

* Sir Richard Musgrave in his critique upon that work in the *Anti-Jacobin Review*, says of the author, p. 228, "Had he been compelled at this critical period to write his *Historical Review*, and had been impartial, whatever bad consequences might have followed, could not have been laid to his charge. *But he was a volunteer, an eager volunteer.*"

all conspiracies and attempts whatever, that should be made against his Person, Crown and Dignity: And that he would do his utmost endeavour to disclose and make known to his Majesty and his heirs all treasons and traitorous conspiracies, which might be formed against him and them.

Without further preamble the Author distinctly declares, that he considers the Orange Institution to be a conspiracy and attempt made against the King's person, crown and dignity. That, for the purpose of defending his Majesty against them to the utmost of his power, by this publication he *does his utmost endeavour to disclose and make known to his Majesty and his heirs the traitorous conspiracy formed against him and them.* He is free to say, that after he had acquired the knowledge of the obligation and engagements of the Orange Societies, he attempted by those means, which he judged prudent to make them known to the persons, through whom the disclosure might, and he presumes to add, ought to have been officially conveyed to the King in person. The Author's failure in his first attempt does not dispense with his further *utmost endeavours to disclose and make them known to his Majesty and his heirs.* In taking the oath of allegiance, he was sincere in declaring, that *he was not, and could not be acquitted before God or man, or absolved of that declaration, although the Pope or any other person or persons, or authority whatsoever, should dispense with or annul the same, or declare that it was null and void from the beginning.* In virtue then of his oath, and in performance of the duty of his allegiance, the Author now submits the following sheets to the perusal
of

v

of that public, which is generally bounden by the same oath with himself, as the most effectual method of disclosing and making known the traitorous conspiracy to his Majesty and his heirs. Had he merely charged, without proving, the traitorous nature of the Orangemen's obligation and engagements, and their attempts against his Majesty's person, crown and dignity, or did he delay the publication by one hour beyond the time necessary to render the disclosure full and effectual, then would he not in the *plain and ordinary sense of the words of his oath* have complied with, or fulfilled the obligations of it.

As the conscientious observance of an oath necessarily depends upon the conscientious understanding of it by the juror,* the Author feels himself called upon to avow his decided opinion, that the oath of an Orangeman, as it is expressed in the rules and regulations for the use of all Orange Societies, hereinafter printed, is of a treasonable nature by common law, and felonious by the 7th Geo. III. c. xiii. which is an *Act to suppress insurrections and prevent the disturbance of the public peace in Ireland*; and which will remain in force to the end of the present session of parliament. An act, which has never been acted upon for the only useful purpose, for which it appears to

* The author cannot subscribe to the generally received opinion, that an oath is to be taken in the sense, in which it is imposed or required, *secundum animum imponentis*: but *secundum animum jurantis*, that is, according to the juror's understanding, and the common acceptation of the words, in which the oath is expressed.

to have been passed, namely, that of making the initiation into an Orange Lodge, *Felony* ; and for this sole purpose devoutly it is to be wished, that the legislature may amend and perpetuate it.

The ground of the first part of this opinion rests upon the universal admission, that by common law allegiance, absolute, unqualified and perpetual is due from every subject to his sovereign ; consequently an oath to render it conditional, qualified or temporary, contravenes the purity of natural ligeance, and is of a treasonable quality. The ground of the second part of the opinion will be manifest to every one, who reads the enacting part of this statute, and impartially compares it with the secret, proscriptive and unauthorized obligation or oath of an Orangeman, as settled by the Grand Lodge of Dublin, on the 10th of January, 1800, as hereafter printed.

Sect. III. “ And be it enacted by the authority
 “ aforesaid, That every person or persons, who shall
 “ administer, or cause to be administered, tender, or
 “ cause to be tendered, or be present, aiding or as-
 “ sisting at the administering or tendering, or who
 “ shall, by threats, promises, persuasion, or other
 “ undue means cause, procure or induce to be taken
 “ by any person or persons *in Ireland*, upon a book
 “ or otherwise, any oath or engagement, importing
 “ to bind the person or persons taking the same, to
 “ be of any association, brotherhood, committee, so-
 “ ciety or confederacy whatsoever, in reality formed,
 “ or to be formed for seditious purposes, or to disturb
 “ the

“ the public peace, or to injure the persons or property
 “ of any person or persons whatsoever, to do or omit or
 “ refuse to do any act or acts whatsoever, under what-
 “ ever name, description or pretence such association,
 “ brotherhood, committee, society or confederacy
 “ shall assume or pretend to be formed or consti-
 “ tuted; or any oath or engagement, importing to
 “ bind the person, taking the same to obey the or-
 “ ders or rules or commands of any committee or
 “ other body of men not lawfully constituted, or of
 “ any captain, leader or commander (not appointed
 “ by, or under the authority of his Majesty, his heirs
 “ or successors,) or to assemble at the desire or com-
 “ mand of any such captain, leader, commander or
 “ committee, or of any person or persons not having
 “ lawful authority, or not to inform or give evidence
 “ against any brother, associate or confederate, or
 “ other person, or not to reveal or discover his or her
 “ having taken any illegal oath, or not to reveal or
 “ discover any illegal act done or to be done, or not
 “ to discover any illegal oath or engagement, which
 “ may be administered or tendered to him or her,
 “ or the import thereof, whether such oath shall be
 “ afterwards so administered, or tendered or not, or
 “ whether he or she shall take such oath, or enter into
 “ such engagement or not, being by due course of
 “ law convicted thereof, shall be adjudged guilty of
 “ felony, and be transported for life: And every per-
 “ son, who shall take in *Ireland*, any such oath or
 “ engagement, importing so to bind him or her as
 “ aforesaid, and being by due course of law thereof
 convicted,

" convicted, shall be adjudged guilty of felony, and
 " be transported for seven years."

Beyond the obligation of his sworn duty of allegiance, the author is impelled by a sense of the importance of Ireland to the stability of the British empire, to exert his further efforts to induce the prejudiced and the blind, justly to appreciate, and earnestly to co-operate in bringing into action the powerful energies of a gallant, warm-hearted and loyal people. Insulting is the pretence to establish tranquillity, peace and happiness in the country by those, who refuse, or neglect to root up and utterly to destroy the plants of discord so prodigally sown, so guardedly trenched, so artfully bleached and softened under the richest mould, so tenderly fostered throughout the land. Having thoroughly examined the nature and properties of this deadly exotic for the benefit of the country, in which its culture has been so powerfully forced, he cannot consistently withhold for one hour the result of his enquiries. He therefore publishes separately this disquisition before the history of Ireland since the Union, to which it was intended as an introduction, can appear before the public.

The Author anticipates the indulgence of every real Irishman, for introducing the following sheets to the notice of the public in the words of the greatest master of impressive and figurative reasoning, the *rostrum* ever boasted. On moving for the release of a learned judge from illegal imprisonment under an English warrant, he noticed the dead silence, into
 which

which the public had been frowned on the sad occasion, and rejoiced in that factitious dumbness, because, when all was hushed, when nature slept, the weakest voice was heard. “Then, says he,” (Curr. Speech in *Rex v. Johnson*) “The shepherd’s whistle
 “shoots across the listening darkness of the inter-
 “minable heath, and gives notice, that the wolf is up-
 “on his walk; and the same gloom and stillness, that
 “tempt the monster to come abroad, facilitate the
 “communication of the warning to beware. Yes,
 “through that silence the voice shall be heard.—
 “Yes, through that silence the shepherd shall be
 “put upon his guard.—Yes—through that silence
 “the felon savage shall be chased into the toils.”

INTRODUCTION.

ERRATA.

Page	Line	
16	24	for <i>natural</i> read <i>mutual</i>
27	19	for <i>warrant</i> read <i>summons</i>
60	1	between the words <i>their</i> and <i>extermination</i> introduce the words <i>oath of</i>
124	18	for <i>struck</i> read <i>stuck</i>

INTRODUCTION.

THE history of Ireland has been brought from its first connection with England down to its Union with Great Britain. That political event has not realized the flattering, prospects which the British Minister held out to the Irish people, as inducements to adopt the measure. The effects of the Union are of transcendent importance to the British Empire, and cannot be otherwise made known, than by continuing the history of Ireland from its incorporate Union up to the current year. The task of writing modern history is arduous and invidious. Nothing reprehensible, unsuccessful or disastrous can be fairly represented, without wounding the feelings of those, who planned or executed the measure. On the other hand, cotemporary history must ever gratify a people interested in the faithful recording

B

cording of their national achievements. If the truth be at first disguised, distorted or suppressed, it may then be readily rectified or supplied by co-existing documents or testimony; and the existing generation will be assured, that their actions will be handed down in true colours to posterity. The liability of a co-temporary historian to be questioned either in or out of a court of justice for any falsehood, slander or malice, is a security not to be looked for in the writer of remote events. Though Ireland be legislatively united with Great Britain, the history of her people and Government is wholly distinct, and widely different.

Necessity
of deve-
loping the
Society of
Orange-
men.

In order to bring under the eye of the reader a comprehensive and impartial view of the history of Ireland for the last nine years, which may be called the first fruits of the Union, it will be requisite to trace to its source that political power, which had swayed the country for several years previous to the Union, as it still continues, though in a somewhat different manner, to sway it at this hour. As many of the facts, which gave rise and strength to that power happened before the period, which forms the subject of this volume, they are brought forward as introductory matter to the history, which they more materially, than perhaps, ostensibly affect. The existence of the Society of Orangemen in Ireland, has
ever

ever since its institution been productive of such strong effects upon that country, that it is impossible to do her historical justice, without fully representing the different parts, which the Orangemen have been permitted or made to perform upon the national theatre. Although many of their achievements have found their regular place in the history of the times, in which they happened, yet a minute disquisition concerning the rise, progress, nature and effects of that society has become necessary to develop the views, motives and consequences of instituting, countenancing and keeping it on foot.

It exceeds the function of the historian to trace the acts of government to the private inducements of the ministers, who directed them. It is his duty to connect times and circumstances with public measures, and the reader will draw his own consequences. The history of Ireland during the last century is an uninterrupted chain of facts, proving to demonstration, that the government was carried on by keeping up a local ascendancy of foreign power or influence over the natural constitutional rights and interests of that country. It bore successively the appellations of the *King's business*, the *English interest*, the *British ascendancy*: and then it was an avowed appendage to the patronage of the British minister.

ter. It afterwards fell into the hands of an Irish oligarchy, who by a bold and arrogant usurpation, monopolized the whole political power of the country. In order to keep out of sight the paramount influence of the British Cabinet, they dignified their lucrative acquisition by the imposing title of *Protestant ascendancy*. Lord Clare had the address to bring forward the aristocracy of the country to pledge their lives and fortunes in support of it, before its practical meaning was made known to them.

First
germ of
Union in
Mr. Pitt's
mind, Soon after the declaration of Irish independence, in 1782, Mr. Pitt failed in carrying his commercial propositions through the Irish Parliament. From having been thwarted in that favourite plan, which had been adopted by the two houses of the British parliament, his views and conduct towards Ireland greatly changed. In 1786 Mr. Foster was chosen Speaker of the House of Commons, which greatly increased his political influence in the country. A coincidence of views, and disposition to keep up a political ascendancy in the country, strictly united the then Attorney General, Mr. Fitzgibbon, and the speaker, with Mr. Beresford, to devote themselves to Mr. Pitt, under pledges to carry through all his business, provided the internal management and patronage of the country were left to their direction. The
haughty

haughty mind of Mr. Pitt seldom permitted him to communicate fully his plans to others: he often made his most confidential servants the unconscious engines of his deepest designs. From that time Mr. Pitt meditated a legislative Union, which for a long time he carefully concealed from those political contractors, who would then have revolted against the project, as defeating the object of their lucrative and ambitious speculations. Mr. Pitt was a man of resistless pertinacity and ambition. Sensible that the measure of Union, particularly after the late establishment of their legislative independence would be resisted by every true Irishman, his mind was brought to conviction, that it could only be pressed upon her in the hour of fear and weakness, of which the most immediate and unfailing causes are national division and religious dissension.

Dr. Woodward, Bishop of Cloyne, published a pamphlet, which he entitled, *The Present State of the Church of Ireland*, in which he roundly charged the Catholics and Presbyterians with being *by principle* hostile to the constitution in Church and state. This raised a polemical contest kept up by numerous publications on both sides. Each party, as usual, on such occasions, claimed the victory. The rewards, however, were all on one side. Every clerical writer

Bishop of Cloyne's contro-
versy.
in

in support of the Bishop was liberally promoted for the share he bore in the warfare.* Of the

* Out of that controversy arose the admirable productions of the Rev. Arthur O'Leary, a Catholic priest, on toleration, which removed from the minds of many Catholics the difficulties, which up to that time it is well known prevented them from swearing allegiance to the house of Hanover, and abjuring the pretensions of the House of Stuart. That Rev. Divine so happily blended a vein of liberality and original humour with orthodox instruction, that his writings became popular even with Protestants, and produced so much toleration and cordiality between them and the Catholics, that created a serious alarm in those, who studied to perpetuate their division and consequent weakness. With much art they endeavoured to stop the progress of this terrifying liberality and harmony among Irishmen of different religious professions. The Rev. Arthur O'Leary was thanked by the British Minister for the services he had rendered to the state, by frightening away the bugbear of Jacobitism, and securing the allegiance of the whole Catholic body to the illustrious house of Hanover. A pension of £200 was granted to him for his life in the name of a trustee; but upon the secret condition, that he should for the future withhold his pen, and reside no more in Ireland: in such dread was holden an evangelizer of tolerance and brotherhood in that country. Two or three payments of this hush money were made. Afterwards an arbitrary refusal for many years threw the Rev. Pensioner upon the voluntary support of his friends for subsistence. After a lapse of many years, by importunity and solicitation, and repeated proofs of his having complied with the secret conditions, he received a large arrear; and in order to make himself independent for the rest of his days, he purchased with it an annuity for his life from a public office, and died before the first quarter became due.

utility

utility of the several publications, which arose out of that controversy, every man will judge, who has read them. No one however can deny, that the immediate result of the contest was increased virulence and animosity on the part of the *Protestant ascendancy* against the Catholic and Presbyterian : and reconciliation and amity between the Presbyterian and the Catholic. An union, which naturally stimulated the Protestant ascendancy to a fiercer lust of rule, and provoked the Catholics and Presbyterians, (they compose the bulk of the population) to a vindictive acerbity of retaliation, to which they had long been strangers. From that hour to the present, the fair observer of political events in Ireland will distinctly mark the workings of the *Protestant ascendancy* in the rule and guidance of a numerous body of men united by oaths of secrecy, deluded under pretence of religion, goaded by superstition and passion, lured by interest, and organized into complete subordination and blind obedience to the commands of their leaders. Mr. Pitt largely lent the arm of the executive to all the purposes of intolerance, to which his Irish undertakers thought fit to apply it. The weakening of Ireland by internal dissension was the private order given to the triumvirate. The public instructions to the ostensible and responsible officers of the Crown concealed

concealed the Machiavelian principle in the back ground.

System of
terrifying
by false
alarms.

It was a * favourite tactic of Mr Pitt's to create false alarms, with a view of engrafting strong measures upon the timidity, which they created. Mr. Fitzgibbon in the first fervor of devotion to his patron outran his commission; and so far exceeded all the bounds of decency, as to retail officially in the House of Commons a most alarming report of the outrages of the *Right Boys* in 1787, as proceeding from a popish conspiracy. In this Mr. Orde, the secretary, as a man of honour and veracity, found it necessary to contradict his Majesty's Attorney General, in open Parliament, by declaring; that *he not only did not believe it to be true, but in several places he knew it not to be true.* And when this law officer of the Crown was shamed out of the clause he had introduced into the bill for preventing tumultuous risings, directing the magistrates to demolish the Roman Catholic chapels, in which any combination should have been formed, or an unlawful oath administered, Mr. Orde, with becoming dignity, declared, that he never would have concurred in such a clause. Mr. Grattan observed upon the extra-official zeal of Mr. Fitzgibbon, *that it was remedying disturbance by irreligion. and establishing it by Act of Parliament.*

In

* History of Ireland, by the Author, Vol. II. p. 208.

In the year 1788, under the second administration of the Marquis of Buckingham, whom Mr. Pitt had specially selected for effecting his views upon Ireland, on the death of the Duke of Rutland, the county of Armagh was the theatre, on which the managers of the ascendancy most prominently exhibited their newly delegated or usurped power. The county of Armagh is the most Protestant county of Ireland. It is in great part, a species of English colony. The primacy having been usually bestowed upon Englishmen, the consequence was, that whatever church lands could be beneficially demised, came to the hands of the English dependants and favourites of the Primates, as they fell in. The tenants moved not as their patrons died; but attached themselves to the soil, in which they had acquired a valuable interest. They had generally risen from menial situations, and retained a species of extraordinary gratitude for the Church, on the soil of which they lived and throve. They, like most religionists in their walks of life, manifested their forced zeal, more by their prominent abhorrence and persecution of others, than by the edifying exercise of the tolerant and mild precepts of their own religion. The ancient village feuds and dissensions of the *Peep of Day* boys and defenders, were renewed under the acrimonious distinction of Protestants and Catholics, for the wicked purposes of more lasting division.

Religious
dissension
fomented
in Ar-
magh.

Lord
Clare
made
Chancel-
lor.
Strength
of the As-
cendancy
party.

The death of Chancellor Lifford in 1789, afforded Mr. Pitt an opportunity of rewarding the extraordinary zeal and exertions of the Attorney General Mr. Fitzgibbon, in the management of the difficult question of the Regency in the preceding year. By appointing him Chancellor; (the first Irishman that ever filled that station) he assumed credit for being a friend to Ireland; and at the same time secured the house of Lords, as far as the influence of Chancellor and Speaker could weigh. He commanded the Speaker's powers over the House of Commons in Mr. Foster, and he secured in Mr. Beresford the judicious application of all the fiscal douceurs and benefits; of the virtue and extent of which no other man was so cognizant. Mr. Pitt was naturally crafty, implacable and domineering. The disgust, which the aristocracy had shewn, at the first mention of Union, roused his haughty soul into an indignant resolution to subjugate them to it by their own timidity and weakness. His lofty spirit had never brooked the independence, which the Irish forced the British senate to acknowledge in 1782. Unrestrained by sympathy, impregnable to friendship, unawed by advice, spurning his opponents, and confident of the profligacy of his adherents, this daring statesman seized the advantage of the disastrous times.

In

In 1791 the government was more alarmed at the sympathies of the Presbyterians in the North with the French revolutionists, than with the dread of Catholic emancipation, although the Presbyterians came cordially forward as the staunch advocates and supporters of that measure. Mr. Pitt's general nostrum was to weaken by dividing. Nothing could so effectually put the nation and the *Protestant ascendancy* at issue, as the unequivocal determination of the representatives in Parliament not even to listen to their complaints. When, therefore, in 1792, the Catholic's petition was presented to the House of Commons by Mr. O'Hara, he desired not to be considered as its particular patron. Not a member stood forward to oppose its rejection by the house. The insulting outrage of not receiving their petition exasperated the Catholics, and filled their enemies with proportionate confidence. The animosity of each party was consequently sharpened.

Mr. Pitt's
conduct
towards
the Ca-
tholics.

The triumph of the *Protestant ascendancy* was of short duration. In the next session that very Parliament was directed to grant almost the whole substance of the Petition, which but some months before they had been ordered to reject with insulting contumely. The weakness of the *Protestant ascendancy* was thus exposed, by convincing the nation, that they moved not by their

Mr. Pitt's
conduct to
the Pro-
testant
parties,
and his
view to
Union.

own

own will or energy, but in servile obeïssance to foreign authority. It was Mr. Pitt's art to play off and balance the opposite powers against each other, that neither should make head against himself. Ministry and ascendancy became equally alarmed at the rising disposition of the people to enter into a National Union, without regard to religious distinction. Mr. Pitt availed himself of the critical moment, and from that time forward, never ceased to press upon his orcatures, the option of *external* or *internal* Union. In the latter the whole *Protestant ascendancy* would be lost: by the former its consequence and profits would be at least partially preserved. Under this system, each party continued for a time to strengthen itself. The Catholics having obtained more than they expected, tho' not all they looked to from Government, sought to acquire strength and consequence by uniting with the liberal Protestants of every denomination, in their efforts to obtain the great national objects of every real Irishman's wishes. The *Protestant ascendancy* irritated at the concessions made by Government to the Catholics, entrenched itself within a formidable line of exclusion, and vowed eternal inveteracy against the Catholics, even to extermination. With the countenance, aid, and support of the monopolizing *junto*, it arrogated to itself exclusive loyalty, and by affecting to
prop

prop and strengthen the arm of the law, it insolently identified itself with Government, and put the Country at issue.

The year 1794 was peculiarly important to the interests of Ireland, as far as they were affected by the workings of the *Protestant ascendancy*, So turbulent was then the state of the country, that Mr. Pitt found it requisite to abandon the system of coercion, and confide the reins of Government to a person possessing other qualities, than these of mere subserviency. Lord Westmoreland's recall was resolved upon. The master stroke of Mr. Pitt's policy, was the division of the Whig party in England. That event would not have happened, had not the Duke of Portland been assured by Mr. Pitt, that he and his friends should have the entire management of Ireland, with full authority to redress grievances, reform abuses, and especially, as his grace openly avowed at Court, when he kissed hands on his promotion, to bring forward the question of Catholic Emancipation in the ensuing session.

* Mr. Foster, who had ever systematically opposed the Catholics, and some of his family were mainly instrumental in raising certain suspicious charges against Mr. Fay & others.

* Hist. Rev. of the State of Ireland, 2 vol. 441. & seq.

picious, which led to the false charges against Mr. Fay of Navan, Mr. Dowdal, Mr. Bird of Drogheda, and several Catholic Gentlemen of respectability in that neighbourhood, for the murder of the Rev. Mr. Butler, and the general system of *Defenderism*, which had then settled in an open system of lawless robbery. The Catholics had suffered from it more than their Protestant neighbours: and to its suppression they had more generally, and as largely subscribed. The plot appeared deeply laid under great political influence, to stigmatize the body of Catholics, thro' the crimination of Mr. Fay, and the other Catholic Gentlemen of established respectability. Just providence defeated it by opening to view the base machinations and perjuries of the informer Lynch, and other such miscreants raked out of the neighbouring Goals, who had been hired and suborned to swear away the lives of the victims pointed out. Their honourable acquittal, and the bare-faced exposure of the Conspiracy covered the party with shame, and for a time kept them quiet in these parts of the Country. Of these trials, Mr. Curran* in his

* This Gentleman, who is the present Master of the Rolls in Ireland, during the whole of his Political Career in Parliament never did an action, in which the staunchest Patriot would not have gloried in concurring, nor uttered a speech, of which the most eloquent might not have boasted.

his place in the Senate, said, " he could speak
 " as an eye witness, declaring them to be scenes
 " of more atrocity and horror, than he had ever
 " seen exhibited in a Court of Justice. It was
 " what the Catholics might have expected, when
 " they found their avowed enemies continued in
 " authority, and the malice of an implacable
 " Government left to indemnify itself by ven-
 " geance, what it had lost by law."

It was necessary, that Mr. Pitt should con-
 vince his Whig Neophytes of the sincerity of
 his engagement, to leave the entire reform of
 Ireland to them. Messrs. Grattan and Pon-
 sonby were therefore sent for, to form the new
 Irish Administration; and the virtuous Fitz-
 william was selected to meet the eager expecta-
 tions of the nation. On the other hand, Mr.
 Beresford went over to England on a counter-
 project; and by secret negotiations, successfully
 laid the train, by which Lord Fitzwilliam's in-
 structions to give the Catholic question a hand-
 some support on behalf of Government, were to
 be counteracted, and the *Protestant ascendancy*
 was to be made finally to triumph over National
 Union, Parliamentary Reform, and Catholic
 Emancipation. This perfidious manœuvre, af-
 farded Mr. Pitt a treble triumph. It exposed
 the impotency of his Whig proselytes. It dis-
 played

Mr. Pitt's
 conspira-
 cy against
 Catholic
 Emanci-
 pation.

played the extent of his personal authority. It widened the breach between the Catholic and the Protestant ascendancy. From the recall of Lord Fitzwilliam, commenced the reign of terror. His successor, whose sole recommendation to the Irish was the name of Camden, from the moment of his landing, manifested as unequivocal symptoms of subserviency to the *triumviri*, as Lord Westmoreland had shewn throughout his whole Government. He threw himself without reserve into their arms: and when affrighted at the shrieks of torture, and nauseated with the fumes of blood, he weakly lamented, that the system had been extorted from him.

Persecu-
tions in
Armagh.

★

The unexpected triumph of persecuted innocence in Meath drove the baffled party to another scene of action, where their physical force was larger, where their instruments were better organized, and where the magistracy was more generally devoted to their designs. The Protestant County of Armagh, had long been the field of contest, between the *Peep of Day Boys*, and the *Defenders*. This acrimony, which had for some time been soothed into natural repentance and shame at their past errors, was re-kindled by secret agents, and converted into a ferocious warfare of religious contention. The
ascendancy

ascendancy party was worked into an enthusiastic ebullition of renovated fury, by the Sermon of a Rev. Divine of the Established Church, Mr. Mansell of Portadown, who some days previous to the 1st day of July 1795, had from his pulpit given very marked notice to his congregation, that all persons disposed to celebrate the anniversary of the battle of the Boyne, in the true spirit of the institution, should attend his Sermon on that day. This Evangelical labourer in the vineyard of the Lord of peace so worked up the minds of his audience, that upon retiring from service, on the different roads leading to their respective homes, they gave full scope to the antipapistical zeal, with which he had inspired them ; falling upon every Catholic they met, beating and bruising them without provocation or distinction, breaking the doors and windows of their houses, and actually murdering two unoffending peasants, who were digging turf in a bog. This unprovoked atrocity of the Protestants revived and redoubled religious rancour. The flame spread and threatened a contest of extermination.

A like assault was offered to some Catholics of Peaceable the town of Lurgan, but no lives were lost in that affray. Mr. Bernard Coile an eminent Muslin and Cambrick manufacturer, with others

resolutions of the Catholics of Lurgan.

D

of

of his Catholic brethren, convened a meeting of the two parishes on the following Sunday, in the Session house, with which for that laudable purpose the Protestant Magistrate had accommodated them. The people were admonished to behave in a peaceable manner, and assured, that in case of assault or injury, they should be fully protected by the arm of the law, provided they took not retaliation or revenge into their own hands. Pacific and loyal resolutions were entered into by the Catholics, and liberal Protestants were invited to do the like. A thousand copies of these resolutions were circulated thro' the district with the happiest effect. Tranquillity and order were preserved for a considerable time on one side of the Bann River.* But in the

* Sir Richard Musgrave says, (Memoirs of the different Rebellions, 2d Ed. page 70.) " That in commemoration of that Victory, the first Orange Lodge was formed in the County of Armagh, on the 21st September, 1795, tho' the name of Orange Men existed some time before." It is curious to mark the progress of this veridical historian in his commendation of the Orangemen. In the very next page, he says, the lower class of Protestants of the *Established Church* stood forward at this perilous crisis, &c. Then in page 73. he thinks it right to mention, " that the Orange association, should not be confounded, as it has often invidiously been, with the mutual and disgraceful outrages, which prevailed in the County of Armagh for many years, between the lowest class

the neighbourhood of Portadown, the animosity of the opposite parties had taken so decided a turn, that the Defenders remained under arms for three days successively, challenging their opponents to fight it out fairly in the field, rather than harass them with murderous nocturnal visits. On the 21st September, 1795, the Defenders were defeated at the Village of the Diamond by a less numerous, tho' better organized party of their opponents. On that day the *Peep of Day Boys* dropt that appellation, and assumed the denomination of *Orange-men*: and then was their first Lodge formed.*

At first, no person of consequence entered the Society. Their original object and obligation were to exterminate the Catholics of Ireland, as far as in them lay. They affected to unite in support of the Constitution, as established by King

Com-
mémorant
of the
Orange
Society.

D 2

William

" class of Presbyterians, under the denomination of the *Peep of Day Boys*, and the Roman Catholics as *Defenders*." As if the Protestants of the Established Church, would have formed themselves into a Club or Society, in commemoration of a Victory, which they had not fought for !

* So powerful were the effects of these Resolutions, that not one individual Catholic or Protestant from Lurgan was engaged in the Battle of the Diamond.

William at the Revolution of 1688. Their great encrease and establishment happened in the following year. Detail is requisite, to prove how far the Orange-men have acted up to the spirit of their first Institution, and to shew when, how, and why they changed their original oath of extermination, as will be seen hereafter, into that of supporting conditionally the King, as long as the King should support *the Protestant ascendancy*. The utility of history is the disclosure of facts, which may tend to prevent the miseries, and promote the welfare of the existing and future generations.

Spirit
and pro-
gress of
Orange-
ism.

Elated with their success at the Diamond, the Orangemen advanced boldly in their work of extermination. They confided in the protection, and boasted of the support of the Magistrates, before several of whom that battle was fought. Not only the profession of the Catholic religion, but connexion with a Catholic by marriage, or dependence upon a Catholic by servitude exposed the individual to the brutal ferocity of these exterminators. Some Magistrates directly promoted, others countenanced and encouraged, and most of them allowed their outrages to be committed with impunity. At that time commenced that dreadful system, which

“ Mr.

Mr. Grattan described, as * “ a persecution
 “ conceived in the bitterness of bigotry, carried
 “ on with the most ferocious barbarity by a banditti,
 “ who, being of the religion of the State,
 “ had committed, with the greater audacity
 “ and confidence, the most horrid murders,
 “ and had proceeded from robbery and massacre
 “ to extermination.” “ Those insurgents,”
 said he, “ call themselves Orangemen, or Protestant
 “ Boys; that is, a banditti of murderers,
 “ committing massacre in the name of God,
 “ and exercising despotic power in the name
 “ of Liberty.”

In tracing important events to their source, Mr. Giffard the founder of the Orangemen.
 it is often necessary to attend to circumstances in themselves trivial or contemptible. An apothecary, named Giffard, notorious in the annals of Orangism, had quitted the medical for the military profession, and was then captain in the City of Dublin militia, and quartered at Portadown. He was prominently forward in encouraging the *Peep of Day Boys* against the *Defenders*; and his zealous exertions were not left unrewarded by the renovators of that Crusade. To him are attributed the adoption of the title of Orangemen, their original oath and obligation,

* Parliamentary Debates for 1796.

gation, and the first regulations, by which they were organized into a Society. As this gentleman was travelling in a public carriage from Newry to Dublin, to take his trial for a breach of the peace, he found himself in company with Mr. Bernard Coile, who has been already mentioned: till then, they had been strangers to each other. In the course of conversation, Mr. Coile observed, that Robespierre was a second Cromwell. Mr. Giffard in part assented; but remarked, that he would forgive Cromwell every thing, but one thing; Mr. Coile asked what that one thing was. Mr. Giffard sharply replied; his not having exterminated the Catholics from Ireland; and concluded with the most solemn avowal of his own efficient and most ardent wishes to effectuate that object. Mr. Coile professing himself to be a Catholic, insisted upon turning Mr. Giffard out of the carriage. The quarrel was patched up by their fellow travellers,* but the injury was not forgiven. A system of secrecy and seclusion can only be developed by the overt acts of its principal directors. An attentive and impartial view of the sequel will be an unerring guide to the denouement of the piece.

Flushed.

* These were the late Mr. Page, of Dundalk, and his son, who is still living; Mr. Mac Lelland, the father of the present Baron Mac Lelland; and a Lady. The conversation took place between Dundalk and Drogheda.

Flushed with victory, animated with their new appellation, countenanced and protected, as they openly boasted, by the Magistrates and men high in power, the Orangemen harassed and oppressed their Catholic countrymen with uncontrolled ferocity. Mr. Grattan, on a memorable occasion in the House of Commons, when the Attorney General brought forward four resolutions for checking the progress of insurgency and outrage throughout the country, thus described the horrible practices of the Orangemen. — * “ These insurgents have organized
 “ their rebellion, and formed themselves into a
 “ Committee, who sit and try the Catholic
 “ weavers and inhabitants, when apprehended
 “ falsely and illegally, as deserters. That re-
 “ bellious Committee they call the Committee
 “ of Elders, who, when the unfortunate Ca-
 “ tholic is torn from his family and his loom,
 “ and brought before them in judgment, if he
 “ give them liquor or money, they sometimes
 “ discharge him, otherwise they send him to a
 “ recruiting officer as a deserter. They ge-
 “ nerally give the Catholics notice to quit their
 “ farms and dwellings, which notice they plaister
 “ on the house conceived in these short, but
 “ plain words, *Go to hell, Connaught won't re-
 ceive*

* Viz. on the 20th Feb. 1796. 16 Parl. Debates, 109.

"ceive you. *Fire and Faggot, Wm. Thresham,*
 "and *John Thrustout.** They followed these
 "notices with faithful and punctual execution
 "of the horrid threat. In many instances they
 "threw down the houses of the tenantry, or
 "what they called racked the house, so that the
 "family must fly or be buried in the grave of
 "their own cabin. The extent of the murders,
 "that had been committed by that atrocious
 "and rebellious banditti he had heard, but not
 "so ascertained, as to state them to the House :
 "but from all the inquiries he could make, he
 "collected, that the Catholic inhabitants of Ar-
 "magh were actually put out of the protection
 "of the law ; that the Magistrates had been su-
 "pine and partial, and that the horrid banditti
 "had met with complete success, and from the
 "Magistracy with very little discouragement."
 General inculcation seldom produces the effect
 of specific proof.

Three

* These exterminating notices varied in form, though they
 generally concurred in substance, and were equally acted
 upon. Some were conceived in the laconic words, *Hell or*
Connaught. An eye-witness to many of these horrible scenes
 has furnished us with another reading of this terrific text.
 "To Hell or Connaught immediately, or we, Captain Rack-
 "all and Captain Firebrand will come and destroy you,
 "and send your souls to hell and damnation."

Three of the Magistrates of Lurgan, Mess. *Ford, Brownlow, and Greer*, were, next to Mr. *Verner*, the most prominently conspicuous in forwarding the Orange system. On their estates they had mostly Catholic tenantry, from whom their agents readily obtained, as they did from others, a surrender of their arms. No sooner had this surrender been made, than notice was given to the Orangemen by Mr. Ford, that they would be perfectly safe in plundering that part of the country, where they resided, as the Catholics were there totally disarmed. Accordingly on the following Sunday, they crossed the river Bann in boats, and indiscriminately attacked, plundered and destroyed all the property they knew belonged to Catholics in that district. That their rage was directed against Popery, and not Defenderism, is evident from Mr. Ford's conduct to two of his own most respectable tenants, whose webs and yarns had been destroyed with their houses and furniture. They had applied to him in the natural confidence of tenants in their landlord, who was also a Justice of the Peace*, to direct them how they should obtain

Lurgan
Magis-
trates en-
courage
Orange-
men.

E

redress

* He was also Collector of the Customs at Dundalk, from which office he was soon afterwards discharged, having been detected in several gross frauds upon the Revenue,... Whilst Mr. Greer was in prison, through the interest of Mr. Foster, he had an additional allowance made to him of £100. per ann. from the Linen Board, with leave to take in his son as assistant inspector.

redress for their sufferings. He shortly told them, if they would read their recantation, and turn Protestants, they should be protected. The surrender of Mr. Ford's tenants arms was made on the Saturday. Early on the next morning he set out for Dundalk, and instantly after his departure, the surrendered arms were put by his servant into the hands of Orangemen, to be employed in exterminating the disarmed owners. The example of Mr. Ford was followed by several other Magistrates.

Conviction of Mr. Greer for denying justice.

A principal part of Mr. Coile's property, then in the hands of weavers in the district of Lurgan, was destroyed by the rioters cutting the webs in the looms, and the yarn on the beams. Mr. Coile applied to Mr. Greer for redress, and he refused to take examinations, or grant warrants against any of the persons concerned in these outrages, who, notwithstanding, had been sworn against by four persons besides the prosecutor. Mr. Greer was prosecuted at the Armagh assizes by Mr. Coile, and found guilty upon four counts, and sentenced to six months imprisonment, and to pay a fine of £200. He was of course stricken out of the Commission of the Peace, and committed to Newgate. But Mr. Greer was a staunch supporter of the *Protestant ascendancy*. His fine was reduced to sixpence.

sixpence. Lord Clare restored him to the Commission of the Peace ; and he was not dispossessed of the office of Inspector General of Ulster, under the Linen Board.

Mr. Coile, whose sufferings for his religion, and his persecuted countrymen were unparalleled, was prevented from bringing several other of the corrupt Magistrates of Armagh to justice by a conspiracy against his life, upon a false charge of high treason. He was warned by his friends so secure safety by flight, for that enough had been sworn against him to take away the lives of an hundred men. Conscious innocence scorned to shun trial, and he instantly applied to Mr. Brownlow, a neighbouring Magistrate, to summon the parties before him, in order to confront them, and prevent the wicked attempt. Mr. Brownlow, with difficulty, granted the warrant for a distant day ; and, in the intermediate time, took the information of some perjured miscreants, who had conspired against the life of Mr. Coile, and, in conjunction with Mr. Obins, committed him to the county gaol, upon the following extravagantly false charge, of being a reputed Papist, distributing a large quantity of ball cartridges amongst a number of Papists, for the purpose of destroying the Protestants, and also at the same time swearing a

Conspiracy against Mr. Coile.
person

person to be one of his soldiers, to assist in overthrowing the King, Government, and all Magistrates.

Conspirators retract, and own their crime.

The Rev. Mr. Mansell, the evangelizer of Portadown, before whom the examinations of the conspirators were sworn, induced such of them as were or had been Catholics, to read their recantation before they were examined.* Mr. Coile was confined above eight months in prison, vainly entreating and urging to be put upon his trial. Four of the conspirators against his life, touched with remorse, deposed, in the mean time, before different magistrates, that they had been suborned to swear falsely against him. Some of them added, that they had been compelled by twelve men, whom they named in their affidavits, to swear false oaths against him, and others, that they had been rewarded for having done so with clothes and money.

How Mr. Coile was prevented from prosecuting other magistrates, and what justice done to Orange delinquents.

Mr. Coile was enlarged without trial, after an imprisonment of eight months. Wishing to prosecute the rest of the conspirators, he was prevented from doing it by the judge, because his own

* The following is a copy of a certificate given to one James Murray on this occasion: "James Murray of Derry-
" hesna came before me this day, and renounced the errors
" of the Church of Rome, and embraced the Protestant faith
" as by law established." GEORGE MANSELL. *Drum, Jan.*
" 1st, 1796."

own trial was still hanging over him, whenever it might be expedient for the Crown to bring it forward. This management of justice bespeaks the spirit of those, by whom it was administered. At the spring assizes, in 1796, more than 100 of these exterminating Orangemen were committed for trial: and although by the judges' order the prosecutors and witnesses were escorted, for security, on the high roads by patrols of dragoons, many of them were waylaid, maimed and murdered. Others were intimidated from attending to give evidence, as the juries were from convicting. Notwithstanding these obstructions to justice, eleven of the banditti were found guilty, of whom one only was executed. He was a Protestant dissenter. It was the ordinary and open conversation of these convicts, who were remanded to prison, that if they considered their lives in danger, they would discover the names of their employers in the nefarious business. At the solicitation of the magistrates they were respited from time to time, and at last pardoned, and let loose upon the public to recommence their work of extermination. Mr. Coile, from having prosecuted Mr. Greer to conviction, became a marked victim to the resentment of the Orangemen. He was waylaid, and narrowly escaped with his life. Persecution followed him to Dublin, where his sufferings will be traced in the sequel, not for the sake of the persecuted, individual,

individual, but for the purpose of exhibiting to the nation the spirit and principles of the persecutors.*

Mischief
of Orang-
ism kept
from the
public.

The exterminating system was carried on with such alacrity in Armagh, that the passive objects of the persecution were intimidated into silence. Moderate and liberal Protestants wished to suppress the enormities perpetrated by their brethren in faith, under pretence of supporting the *Protestant ascendancy*, and the ferocious instruments of the outrages were prevented by their more bloody instigators from recording them to posterity. Thus, unfortunately, has the public been left in ignorance of the atrocities,† by which

* Through their influence with the head of the Linen Board, this gentleman, who had hitherto been accommodated like others, in that branch of trade, with the usual advantages of the Hall, was, in an unprecedented manner, deprived of rooms in it for the sale of his goods: he was obliged for that purpose to purchase a house in the neighbouring street, in which he had scarcely been settled, when forty-eight women and children, and four troopers were billeted upon him for ten weeks and four days. The further grievances of this persecuted individual will be noticed, as they occur in the chronological order of the ensuing sheets; as they are all to be traced to the inextinguishable offence of having resisted and punished some of the most prominent zealots of the Orange Institution.

† Dr. Sheridan, the patriotic and enlightened author of the *Unbiased Irishman*, (3d. edition by Coyne, Dublin, 1808.) in

which the Orange spirit was brought into action, embued in Irish blood, and extended through the Country ; sometimes preserved, at others fostered by the hand of power, never put down, and to this hour permitted to exist in defiance of the laws of the land, in violation of the constitution, and contravention of the Act of Settlement. No wonder, that the hands, which secretly directed those inhuman deeds, should be operative in keeping them from the eye of the public. No regular history is to be found of that recent persecution, though so many of the persecuted and persecutors still live to vouch for the truth of the facts.

With

in his introduction to the third edition of his admirable review of Dr, Woodward's *Present State of the Church of Ireland*, occasioned by a recent renewal of that famous publication of the Bishop, (p. 20.) has observed, " that the Catholics have been unpardonably deficient in the use they have made of the freedom of the press. Their shameful indifference with regard to their persecuted brethren in the County of Armagh, will not tell in their favour with an enlightened posterity." And p. 25, he remarks of Mr. Coile, that, " having thus narrowly escaped with his life from this wicked conspiracy, and suffered a loss of his entire property, this gentleman had still spirit enough left to look for redress, and was so fortunate as to be able to expose the system effectually to the nation." He adds, however, this satisfactory information, viz. That " a few days since, (viz. in 1808) the unhappy magistrate deputed a respectable friend to wait on the gentleman he had persecuted, praying forgiveness, and declaring, at the same time, that he had been set on to that bad act by *men high in power*."

Alarming
progress
of Orang-
ism.

With such rapidity did the atrocious fanaticism of the Orangemen spread through the County of Armagh, that in three months from their inauguration on the 21st of September, the very magistrates, who had hitherto countenanced them, were appalled at the consequences of their own concurrence and connivance. On the 21st of February, 1796, Mr. Grattan, in debating the four resolutions of the Attorney General, for quieting the disturbances of the country, which neither mentioned nor referred to the County of Armagh, thus spoke.* “ This horrid persecution, “ this abominable barbarity, and this general extermination has been acknowledged by the “ magistrates, who found the evil had proceeded “ to so shameful an excess, that it had at length “ obliged them to cry out against it. On the 28th “ of December thirty of the magistrates came to “ the following resolution, which was evidence “ of the designs of the insurgents, and of their “ success. *Resolved, that it appears to this “ meeting, that the County of Armagh is at “ this moment in the state of uncommon disorder ; “ that the Roman Catholic inhabitants are grievously oppressed by lawless persons unknown, “ who attack and plunder their houses by night, “ and threaten them with instant destruction, “ unless they abandon immediately their lands “ and habitations.*”

That

That was the first of six resolutions proposed by Lord Gosford, whilst governor of the county, to a general meeting of magistrates, for the purpose, as the third of those resolutions expresses, *of stopping the progress of the persecution now carrying on by an ungovernable mob against the Roman Catholic inhabitants of this county.* That noble Lord spoke a written address to the meeting, in which he told them, that he was as true a Protestant as any in the room, and that from holding the situation he did in the county, he was called upon, and would declare his sentiments without fear and without disguise. That meeting of the whole body of the magistracy of the County of Armagh was convened on the 28th of December, 1795, by his Lordship, for the special purpose of concerting measures *the most likely to check* the enormities, that had brought disgrace upon the County, and would soon reduce it to the deepest distress. His Lordship's words to them on that occasion, are the most unimpeachable evidence, that can be resorted to of the nature, spirit and extent of Orangism at that time, which comprized only the first quarterly return of the success of that exterminating society. "It is," said his Lordship, "no secret, that a persecution, accompanied with all the circumstances of ferocious cruelty, which have in all ages distinguished that calamity, is now raging in this County.

Evidence
of the Ar-
magh ma-
gistrates
against
the
Orange-
men.

Speech of
Lord Gos-
ford.

“ Neither age nor sex, nor even acknowledged
 “ innocence, as to any guilt in the late disturb-
 “ ances, is sufficient to excite mercy or afford
 “ protection. The only crime, which the wretch-
 “ ed objects of this ruthless persecution are
 “ charged with, is a crime indeed of easy proof :
 “ *It is simply a profession of the Roman Catholic*
 “ *faith*, or an intimate connection with a person
 “ professing that faith. A lawless banditti have
 “ constituted themselves judges of this new spe-
 “ cies of delinquency, and the sentence they
 “ have denounced is equally concise and terrible !
 “ It is nothing less, than a confiscation of all
 “ property, and an immediate banishment. It
 “ would be extremely painful, and surely unneces-
 “ sary to detail the horrors, that attend the exe-
 “ cution of so rude and tremendous a proscrip-
 “ tion. A proscription, that certainly exceeds, in
 “ the comparative number of those it consigns
 “ to ruin and misery, every example, that an-
 “ cient and modern history can supply : for
 “ where have we heard, or in what story of hu-
 “ man cruelties have we read of more than half
 “ the inhabitants of a populous country deprived
 “ at one blow of the means, as well as of the fruits
 “ of their industry, and driven, in the midst of
 “ an inclement season, to seek a shelter for them-
 “ selves and their helpless families, where chance
 “ may guide them. This is no exaggerated pic-
 “ ture of the horrid scenes now acting in this
 “ country.

“ country. Yet surely it is sufficient to awaken
 “ sentiments of indignation and compassion in
 “ the coldest bosoms. These horrors are now
 “ acting with impunity. The spirit of impartial
 “ justice (without which law is nothing better
 “ than an instrument of tyranny) has for a time
 “ disappeared in the county, and the supineness
 “ of the magistracy of Armagh is become a
 “ common topic of conversation in every corner
 “ of the kingdom.” His Lordship most evi-
 dently addressed the Armagh magistracy, under
 a conscious sense of their feelings and conduct
 being then pre-occupied by a power and in-
 fluence different from, and superior to his own.
 What else could have induced him to add,
 “ conscious of my sincerity in this public de-
 “ claration, which I do not make unadvisedly,
 “ but as the result of mature deliberation, I defy
 “ the paltry insinuations, that malice or party spi-
 “ rit may suggest. I know my own heart, and I
 “ should despise myself, if, under any intima-
 “ tion, I could close my eyes against such scenes,
 “ as present themselves on every side, or my ears
 “ against the complaints of a persecuted people.”

Such marked reprobation of the conduct of How Ld.
 the Orangemen from a nobleman of the respected ^{Gosford}
 character and peculiar situation of the late Lord ^{appoint-}
 Gosford, is an object of interesting observation. ^{ed gover-}
 In the summer of 1791, whilst the political ^{nor of}
 power ^{Armagh.}
 His up-
 right spi-
 rit.

power of Ireland was left in the hands of the monopolizing managers of Lord Westmoreland's administration, they took deep offence at the Earl of Charlemont's partiality for the Protestant dissenters, and in order to thwart or disgust that noble Earl, they appointed Lord Gosford joint governor with him of the County of Armagh. Lord Charlemont's ancestors had, from the reign of Elizabeth, uninterruptedly enjoyed the government of that county. Considering this joint appointment of a co-governor as an insult and an offence, his Lordship resigned. Lord Gosford was, of course, considered a government man: but his honour and integrity were unassailable. His manly opposition to the wicked and dangerous system, which he well knew to be fostered by the ruling power of the state, gave heinous offence at the Castle, which several of their underlings and dependants scrupled not openly to express. In the debate upon the Attorney General's resolutions, Mr. Archdall, an habitual supporter of government, boasted of his habits of intimacy with Lord Gosford, and scrupled not to denounce his Lordship's address most incautious, and such as on reflection he would not approve of.* He recommended therefore the
conduct

* About eight years after this address had been made, the author had the honor of a very long conversation upon the subject with the late Lord Gosford, in which his Lordship
very

conduct of that nobleman, rather than his publication, as an object of imitation. In the course of the same year, as Mr. Coile was urging the Attorney General to redress his sufferings, he referred to Lord Gosford's address, in order to prove the injustice, which had prevailed in the country ; when he was rebuked by that law officer, who warmly panegyricized the government for their conduct in Armagh, and severely censured the noble Viscount for having made himself much too busy, (he was Lord Lieutenant and principal conservator of the peace of the county.) Mr. Cooke also, in several conferences with Mr. Coile, presumed, in the like official tone of the Castle, to arraign that respected nobleman's conduct as extra-officious and unwarrantable.

At that time the spirit of the government was plainly read in the acts of the legislature. The historian cannot, however, safely extract from them evidence of the facts, upon which they are supposed to have been engrafted.* The Attorney General brought forward his four resolutions, and the two bills founded upon them, as the mouth piece of the government : and lest there should

Legisla-
tive acts
not al-
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ry.

go

explicitly confirmed all the sentiments expressed in that address ; but added, that he probably should have done better by making it much stronger ; and that Mr. Archdall was unauthorized to make that representation to the Commons.

* At Law, facts recited in an act of parliament prove themselves.

go down to posterity any authentic trace of the outrages of their protected exterminators, he cautiously kept out of the resolutions, and out of the acts, the very name of the County of Armagh,* though at that time labouring under more turbulence and outrage, than any other part of Ireland. These resolutions and bills were expressly introduced for the purpose of giving extraordinary powers to the magistrate to put down extraordinary turbulency in the country; yet would it be impossible for the future historian to collect from the record of those acts of parliament, the slightest evidence of the county of Armagh having been at that time disturbed by an exterminating banditti, who drove the whole Catholic population of the county from their homes, merely because they professed the Roman Catholic Religion,

The debates in Parliament the only historical source of information.

The debate in the House of Commons upon the passing of those bills is the chief historical source

* Notwithstanding this studied caution to keep the name of Armagh, and any specific reference to those Protestant outrages out of the acts, yet it is evident, that as far as the indemnity of the magistrates went, the legislators had their eyes anxiously rivetted to the whole persecution of Armagh, up to that hour. They meant not to leave the Armagh magistracy uncovered, even for a moment. The indemnity was made to operate inclusively from the 1st day of July, 1795, that notorious day, on which Mr. Mansell so successfully opened his extraordinary mission at Portadown.

source of information for the truth of the Armagh persecution. The suppression of the very nature of the Orange delinquency by the Attorney General, spoke a language too clear to be misunderstood by any man of impartiality. The protecting tenderness for this Prætorian guard of the *Protestant ascendancy* went to complete impunity. Mr. George Ponsonby, in urging the amendment proposed by Mr. Grattan, said, that “ the enormities, which the governor of that “ county had declared, exceeded any, that ever “ disgraced any country, were such as the existing laws were not calculated fully to reach : “ they were of that kind, that a fair and impartial Government should be glad to catch “ at every opportunity to prevent. If Administration were sincere in wishing to protect “ the unfortunate sufferer in that county, as “ they were to punish offenders in other parts, “ they would not hesitate for one moment to “ adopt the amendment.”

That amendment was to make it obligatory (not leaving it optional, as the bill did) on the county to pay the countryman, whether labourer or manufacturer, full compensation for his damages and losses to his person, family, or dwelling, suffered in consequence of violent mobs. Mr. Grattan observed, that if the compensation were left optional to the grand jury, nothing would be done.

Nature of proposed amendment to the Attorney General's bill.

That

That the grand jury would readily present for damages suffered by magistrates or witnesses; but they probably would not, in the county of Armagh particularly, give any adequate, or indeed any satisfaction for the losses sustained by the Catholic weaver or peasant; and therefore it was not enough, that grand juries should have the power; it was indispensable to impose the obligation. Government trifled with the northern weaver, when it sent him for satisfaction to a grand jury composed of those very magistrates, whose supineness or partiality or bigotry had been the cause of his losses and his emigration. The bill, as framed, contained no remedy for such a case. In the different preambles the grievance was not set forth: in the various provisions no remedy was comprehended. The bill proposed to give extra powers to magistrates; this might be very effectual, as to certain parts of the country: but what was the grievance of Armagh? That the magistrates had not used the ordinary powers, and in some cases had abused those powers in such a manner, that the subject had not been protected, and the rioter had been encouraged. Without such an obligatory clause the bill was not faithful to its own principle. Unless amended, it would be a bill of partial coercion and partial redress: it punished (as it stood) disturbance in one part of the kingdom: it compromised disturbances in another;

another; it protected the magistrates, and left exposed the poor of the North. It says, if you murder a Magistrate, you shall pay his representatives: but if you drive away whole droves of weavers in Armagh, you shall pay nothing, except those persons please, by whose fault they have been driven away, and scattered over the face of the earth. Without such amendment the bill would give no redress to the sufferers in Armagh. It was contended by ministers, that the existing law sufficed to repress the disturbances in Armagh. It certainly did to a certain extent punish the offences committed there: it equally punished the offences committed elsewhere. But it was unfounded to say, that the existing law punished those offences in such a summary manner, as was necessary to restrain them in Armagh. The bill did not look at their case.

In debating the Insurrection Bill,* Sir Lawrence Parsons grievously lamented the discontent, which it must necessarily create in the county of Armagh, by enabling the Magistrate to send out of the kingdom any man he might think guilty. “In that county it had been frequently proved on oath, that several Magistrates refused to take the examinations of the

• Vid. Parliamentary Debates of these times.

" injured Catholics. By some of those Magis-
 " trates, they had been most cruelly persecuted ;
 " others would hear them only out of the win-
 " dow, and some actually turned them from the
 " doors with threats. If such men were to be
 " entrusted with a power of transporting men
 " at pleasure, what was there to be expected,
 " but the most gross and flagrant violation of
 " justice." In the same debate, Colonel (now
 General) Craddock assured the House, that he
 had lately been sent down to that part of the
 country with the most decided instructions from
 Government to act with equal* justice to all
 offenders. He had been assisted by General
 Nugent, and such was the nature of the dis-
 turbance, that after repeated consideration, they
 could see no possible way, in which the troops
 could be employed ; he therefore recommended
 his recall in letters to Government, as he thought
 he could be of no use. He admitted, that the
 conduct of the Protestants, called *Peep of Day*
Boys (then calling themselves Orangemen), in
 the county of Armagh, was at that time most
 atrocious, and that their barbarous practices
 must certainly be put down.

With

* This marked redundancy in the orders of Government
 bespeaks doubt, consciousness, or charge that equal and im-
 partial justice had not been previously administered in those
 parts. The order would otherwise have been an insult to the
 officer, who received it.

With this evidence before their eyes, the House of Commons passed the bill without the amendment, which was proposed for the sole purpose of meeting the case of the Orange insurgen-
 cy and Indemnity Bills passed.
 surgency in Armagh; and without any provision of remedy, or even reference to that evil; and with discretionary powers of transportation vested in those *very* Magistrates, whom the governor of the county had charged to their faces with having permitted unprecedented horrors to be committed with impunity, and made their own supineness the common topic of conversation in every corner of the kingdom. Thus the unparalleled outrages of the Orangemen within the first three months of their institution are historically verified: and the record of Parliament proves the sympathetic tenderness of Government in screening them from the operation of laws, which the Attorney General, on the 28th of January, 1796, in his place in the Commons avowed, was (however reluctant to his feelings) *a bloody penal code.*

The Session of that Parliament, in which the bills for putting down insurgen-
 ty for Orange-
 men and their triumph.
 cy and indemnifying the Magistrates, who had exceeded the law in their endeavours to keep the peace were passed, closed on the 15th of April, 1796, when his Excellency warmly commended the vigorous measures they had adopted for the suppression

of insurrection and outrage, and the wise provisions they had made for preventing the extension of similar offences. The popular feeling out of Parliament was not regulated by that of the majority within it. Amaze and indignation were general, that the crimes of the Defenders, then on the wane, should be visited, with that new and unheard of severity, whilst the atrocities of the Orangemen, then raging with increasing fury, were so tenderly protected from its rigor. This impression upon the public mind was faithfully represented by Mr. Grattan in the House of Commons, when that *new bloody code*, as the Attorney General called it, was debated.*

“ It had been said by the mover of the resolutions, that of the Defenders multitudes had been hanged, multitudes had been put to death on the field, and though suppressed, they were not extinguished. But with regard to the outrages of the Orange Boys, he would make no such boast. On the contrary, they had met with impunity, and success and triumph. They had triumphed over the law, they had triumphed over the Magistrates, and they had triumphed over the people. There persecution, rebellion, inquisition, murder, robbery, devastation and extermination had been entirely victorious.”

So

* Parliamentary Debates, *ubi supra*.

So much had been said in Parliament uncon- Address tradicted about the outrageous persecution of of the Armagh, and so generally did the public believe, Grand Jury of as the fact was, that about 7000 Catholics had Armagh self-adu- been exterminated by the Orange faction, which latory. was certainly in most instances unchecked by the Magistrates, and claimed in all to be supported by Government, that their sympathizing protection found it prudent to attempt to soften the public indignation, and send forth some public document to counteract the effects of Lord Gosford's address to the magistracy of that county. At the Lent Assizes, the Sheriff, Governor, and Grand Jury of the county of Armagh, published an address to the Lord Lieutenant, and two resolutions of a peculiar nature. They thanked his Excellency for his readiness to afford military aid on occasion of the disturbances, that in some places had unfortunately prevailed. They then regretted the late disturbances; and as the *Grand Jury of the county had always discharged their duty with rigorous and impartial justice*, so they would continue their exertions to punish offenders of every denomination, and would lament the necessity of adopting the rigor of the Acts of the late Session of Parliament. Their first resolution was to thank the Sheriff for his *very proper* conduct: the second to thank the Attorney General for his very able speech: for the candor and unwearied exertions, with which he

he conducted the prosecutions, and his readiness to communicate on every occasion with the grand jury. No thanks were voted to the governor, nor did the address specify or refer to any one of the appropriate outrages of the County of Armagh, religious dissensions, conflagrations, papering, racking, devastation, depopulation or extermination. Their assurances to his Excellency, that they would, in future, exercise impartial justice upon offenders of every denomination, was rather unseasonable, when they had actually then exterminated the whole Catholic population of the county. The flimsy delusion of this self adulatory address was seen through and condemned.

Govern-
ment
finds the
arrange-
men use-
ful.

A system * of sworn secrecy and state mystery is only to be developed by piecemeal, from accumulative

* The mischief of a system may be illustrated by hypothesis, as strongly as by facts. Be it then supposed (against the fact) that a cabinet secret had transpired through cabinet oaths of secrecy. Credit might then be given to current reports, which now *must* be disbelieved, because they could not have been divulged, that Lord Camden had been advised in council to ensure the tranquillization of Ireland by one of three measures. 1st. By granting complete emancipation to the Catholics. 2dly. By re-enacting the old penal laws. 3dly. By exterminating them from the face of the country. That his Excellency was by his instructions compelled to reject the first : that he personally loathed the second : that he revolted at the third, as an impossibility. Not so : said the most active

cumulative circumstances, that lead to a conclusion of moral certainty. The society of Orangemen

tive member of that cabinet. I engage to furnish 30,000 men armed and eager to achieve the work. Was it for such a purpose that Orangemen were found so eminently useful? If their conduct entitled them to so much merit at the end of the first six months, to what pretensions will not their subsequent merits of full fourteen years give claim? Whoever looks at their conduct through all that intermediate space of time will trace an identity of spirit and action at the opening and closing of the period. Mr. Curran has appropriately said, (Speech in *Hevey v. Sirr*) "When you endeavour to convey an idea of a great number of barbarians practicing a great variety of cruelties upon an incalculable multitude of sufferers, nothing defined or specific finds its way to the heart, nor is any sentiment excited, save that of a general erratic unappropriated commiseration." In 1795 there lived in the county of Armagh a Mr. James Verner, by profession an attorney, by trade a magistrate, and by commission a parliament-man, nominated by Lord Northland for the borough of Dungannon. He then was, as he still continues to be prominently conspicuous for depressing and persecuting the Catholics. His uncle, who was also an attorney, had by professional and other means realized a very considerable landed estate in those parts, which he had devised to a younger son of Mr. James Verner, then an infant. Amongst other exploits of this purple Orangeman, he eviscerated the estate of his own son, by ruining and exterminating ninety six Catholic families, who were tenants upon it. Mr. James Verner's corps of yeomanry displayed their zeal and prowess on their way to church on a Sunday, by firing amongst a congregation of Catholics, whilst attending the rites of their own religion, wounding several, and some mortally,

men had not subsisted six full months, when the Attorney General's *bloody penal code* was under discussion. They were then unknown out of Armagh, and were known in it only by their deeds of blood, waste and extermination. There, however, a leading magistrate of that county, from the ministerial side of the house, roundly affirmed, that the conduct of the Orangemen had been eminently useful. The assertion was neither contradicted nor qualified from the treasury bench. They were thenceforth taken into the

tally, and on their return from church on the same day, razing to the ground the Catholic chapel, which had been only four years erected within a quarter of a mile of the parish church of Tartarahan. The demolition was performed in the presence of Mr. Obery the magistrate, whose two sons were actively employed in it, and converted the principal timber into looms for their own use. These two young Messrs. Obery were in the habits of selling written protections to such Catholics, as could pay weekly prices for them; and after their cash was exhausted, they took the price of their protections in yarn. Upon the failure of that, they withheld them, and left the impoverished weavers to the general fate of their exterminated brethren. In 1806, Constantine O'Neil, a Catholic hatter, was burnt out of his house and shot at by a set of Orangemen, headed, as he charged, by two of the young Messrs. Verner, and under the protection of Mr. James Verner. The clerk of the assistant barrister, before whom O'Neil had been advised by a magistrate of a neighbouring county to lay his depositions, turned him out of doors with threats, for applying to him to take examinations against his particular friends Messrs. Verner. (See Wilson's Correspondence, 5th Edit p. 14, and throughout.)

the pupillary embraces of Government, and acquired influence, strength and permanency. Could a more dangerous engine fall into the hands of bad ministers?

The grand policy of government was then, as it still is, to resist the Catholic claims, and depress the friends of parliamentary reform. It was fearfully alarmed at the extension of a spirit of liberality and union amongst Irishmen of different religious persuasions. With a view to counteract the effects of such Union, recourse was had to the old and fatal principle of division, for which no fitter instruments could be found, than a society of merciless fanatics excluding the bulk of the population of their country as enemies, thirsting for their blood, and sworn to exterminate them, as far as in them lay. Would it be a rash, though harsh conclusion, that from complacency in the outrages of the Armagh persecution, government took to their embraces the associated perpetrators of its horrors? Certainly, upon the actual extermination of the Catholic population from part of that county,* go-

H vernment

* Where falsehood and misrepresentation are resorted to by government, the practice cannot be too broadly exposed: Wise policy never leans on untruth. It has been the art of those, who stimulated and fostered the Armagh persecution

vernment anxiously propagated them throughout the realm, and promoted the formation of new lodges with its power and influence. Is it in nature, to lay this eager adoption of the Orangemen to any other views, than those of enlarging the field of action for keeping up division in the people, inflaming religious discord, and turning the public mind from the pursuit of constitutional objects? Had not this been the result of their conduct in Armagh? These wicked projects in great part defeated their own ends, by encouraging and extending the cause of internal Union. It was avowed by the three chiefs* of the United Irishmen, at a time and under circumstances, which precluded the temptation to deceive, that, "to the Armagh persecution was "the union of Irishmen most exceedingly indebted." They give the reason in detail, and then

cutions, to reduce the numbers of the victims far below the reality. A list of them was made out by the late Mr. Stuart of Acton, and the Rev. Mr. Stuart of Armagh. The total of the exterminated individuals exceeded 7000. That black monument of Orange atrocity ought to be found in the Castle of Dublin. The person, who delivered it to Mr. Cooke, to be deposited there, assured the author, that he well knew the country so depopulated, which covered an extent of thirteen miles by eleven, had examined the list, and had every reason to give full credit to its accuracy.

* Messrs. O'Connor, Emmett, and M'Nevin—their memoir.

then add: " We solemnly aver, that whenever
 " the Orange system was introduced, particular-
 " ly in Catholic counties, it was uniformly ob-
 " served, that the numbers of United Irishmen
 " increased most astonishingly. The alarm,
 " which an Orange lodge excited amongst the
 " Catholics, made them look for refuge, by
 " joining together in the United system : and as
 " their number was always greater, than that of
 " bigotted Protestants, our harvest was tenfold.
 " At the same time that we mention this circum-
 " stance, we must confess, and most deeply re-
 " gret, that it excited a mutual acrimony, and
 " vindictive spirit, which was peculiarly oppo-
 " site to the interest, and abhorrent to the feel-
 " ings of the United Irishmen."

The great encrease of the Orange Institution Original
 took place in the year 1796. Since that time obligation of
 it has been invariably countenanced by govern- Orange-
 ment. Fitting then it is, that the Orangemen men.
 should be made known by their fruits.* Secrecy

H 2

has

* It may not be here improper to notice, that this intro-
 ductory disquisition is not intended to be a regular history of
 the Orange societies, since their institution up to the present
 hour: but its object is to prove, that these unconstitutional,
 and most dangerous societies have, from their cradle, been
 used as the mischievous engines for thwarting the wishes, and
 counteracting the peace and prosperity of Ireland: and con-
 sequently, that their existence is incompatible with the se-
 curity

has ever been the soul of Orangism. And considering the nature of the obligation, which it appears

curity and integrity of the British empire. It would be irregular in this introduction to anticipate the detail of what will form a part of the history we have in hand. In order, however, to keep the reader's mind alive and attentive to the singularity, or rather identity of the latter and first fruits of Orangism, we generally refer to, without detailing the extraordinary facts contained in Mr. Wilson's Correspondence and Narrative, published in 1806 and 1808, by Mr. King, of Westmoreland street, Dublin, the former of which has gone through five editions, and the latter ~~two~~. Be it not forgotten, that this gentleman is a Protestant, that he has been a member of the British Parliament, was an intimate friend of Lord Eldon, has family connections with the Duke of Richmond, and was a magistrate for the county of Tyrone. They terribly verify all, and more than was said by Lord Gosford, Mr. Grattan, Mr. Curran, and other patriotic witnesses to truth in their country's cause. It is impossible to read them without a bleeding heart for the personal sufferings of the writer, without sympathy for the poor outlawed and persecuted Catholics, without indignation at the tyrannical usurpation of the Orangemen, and without disdainful horror of their abettors. They demonstrate the fostering sympathies of government with the Orangemen, and the most abandoned co-operation of the arm of power in feats of outrage. Mr. Wilson has been immolated for resisting Orange barbarity: but the suckling would see, that he has spoken nothing but the truth. Had he slipped into the shallowest rut of falsity, the arm of legal rigour would long since have reached the man, who had publicly dared to charge government with oppression, three chancellors with dissimulation and injustice, a peer with falsehood, nine out of ten brother magistrates with corruption and tyranny, and Orange juries and witnesses with malicious and habitual perjury. *Magna ex veritas & prevalebit.*

appears from strong evidence, the original Orangemen first entered into, no wonder they enveloped their mysteries in darkness, and often prevented disclosure by blood. The frequency and combination of systematic circumstances at distant times and places, give strength to conjecture and report. This species of circumstantial and combined evidence is however offered only as auxiliary to that, which it is the duty of the historian to submit, and leave to the judgment of his reader.* It has been asserted by well

* In matters acrimoniously contested by adverse parties, the bare assertion of either party will not settle the point at issue. But there are circumstances, under which the concessions of one party, rather bearing against than in favour of the conceding party, approach nearly to conclusion. Messrs. O'Connor, Emmet and M'Nevin declare in their memoir, in disclosing the purport of the most important meeting of the Irish union, at the middle of the year 1796, that "they considered themselves bound to give an account of it with the utmost frankness, and more than ordinary precision." The following part of their report is too interesting to be suppressed: "The provocation of the year 1794, the recall of Lord Fitzwilliam, and the reassertion of coercive measures that followed it, were strongly dwelled on. The county of Armagh had been long desolated by contending factions, agreeing only in one thing: an opinion, that most of the active magistrates in that country treated one party with the most fostering kindness, and the other with the most rigorous persecution. It was stated, that so marked a partiality exasperated the sufferers and those, who sympathized in their misfortunes. It was

well informed (though anonymous) authors, that the original obligation, or oath of Orangemen was to the following effect: *I, A. B. do swear, that I will be true to king and government; and that I will exterminate the Catholics of Ireland, as far as in my power lies.* The frequency and earnestness, with which the latter part of the oath has been acted upon by Orangemen, has rendered the charge of taking it too credible. It has, however, been denied and disclaimed by several individuals of the Orange party. Unless Lord Clare and the Secret Committee, which acted under his direction had either distinctly known, or had good grounds for believing, that the oath of extermination had been usually taken by the Orangemen, they would have hardly questioned Mr. O'Connor in 1798, whether government had any thing to do with their oath of extermination?

Had

“ was urged with indignation, that notwithstanding the
 “ greatness of the military establishment in Ireland, and
 “ its having been able to suppress the Defenders in various
 “ counties, it was not able, or was not employed to suppress
 “ those outrages in that county, which drove 7000 persons
 “ from their native dwellings. The magistrates, who took
 “ no steps against the Orangemen, were said to have over-
 “ leaped the boundaries of the law to pursue and punish the
 “ Defenders. The Government seemed to take upon them-
 “ selves these injuries by the indemnity act, and even ho-
 “ noured the violator: and by the insurrection act, which
 “ enabled the same magistrates if they chose, under colour
 “ of law, to act anew the same abominations.”

Had that Committee doubted of the fact, they would have asked Mr. O'Connor, whether the Orangemen had ever administered such an oath? The more so, as it could not have been unknown to the Committee, that Mr. O'Connor had in the preceding year either written, or received the credit of writing a pamphlet entitled *The present state of Ireland*, in which that form of the Orange oath of extermination was given as authentic.

The Orangemen had done their work in Armagh too much to the satisfaction of their rulers to be disbanded, reduced, or put upon half-pay. Some sort of varnish was to be laid over the atrocity of their deeds, and an Act of Parliament was passed for the relief of the injured Catholics of Armagh. As it left the redress to the discretion of the Grand Jury, composed chiefly of the very magistrates* who had injured them, it gave, as was to be expected, but little satisfaction to the country. Division and exter-

* Some time after this period Mr. Greer, who had been convicted, and suffered six months imprisonment for corruption and perjury in his office as Justice of the Peace in favouring the Orangemen against the Catholics, was the acting Secretary of the Grand Jury at the Armagh assizes. On that occasion he told one Blacker a principal sufferer, who applied to him to have his petition sent up, that he was too much connected with Belfast to have any thing done for him. Blacker obtained no redress.

extermination were objects too near the hearts of the protecting friends of the Orangemen, not to retain them in their service, as long as they kept those objects in view. As the Orangemen moved out of Armagh, they not only carried with them their native spirit, which had been so powerfully destructive in the county, that gave it birth, but they were every where preceded by a glowing pillar of encouragement and remuneration. Objects of their persecution encreased, as they extended their progress : and the chief difficulty of their task-masters has ever since been, to check their lust for outrage, lest it might force into action the physical power of their enemies, and invert the system of extermination.

Firmness
of Mr.
Coile in
demand-
ing re-
dress, and
bringing
to light
the form
of the
oath of
Orange-
men.

Mr. Coile has been already spoken of, as the only Catholic of Armagh, who had the firmness to resist and make a stand at law against the desperate depredations of the banditti. He did it with intrepidity and perseverance, in defiance of conspiracies, perjury, and the dagger of the assassin. To him is it owing, that the secret oath or obligation of the Orangemen came to light. When he had providentially escaped several attempts upon his life in Armagh, he settled himself in Dublin, where he presented a petition, setting forth all his sufferings to the Lord Lieutenant. His Excellency referred it to Mr.

Pelham

Pelham (now Earl of Chichester), his Secretary : and he referred it to Mr. Cooke, an Under-Secretary, who was generally the ostensible organ of the ruling men in power, through which the operations of the Orangemen were generally directed and managed. He was, in the current phrase, a faithful servant of the Castle†. Mr. Coile was admitted

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† This Mr. Cooke is no Irishman, though much confided in at that time by Mr. Beresford and Mr. Foster, and used by Lord Clare as a serviceable tool for all his projects. He was the writer or procurer of many anonymous pamphlets, which it was the policy of the party to publish from time to time, to promote either internal division or external union. The confidence, lucrative situations, and active employment of this gentleman, under the abettors of that party up to the present hour, are the historical proofs of their sense of his utility and merit. The sense, which other persons of high respectability entertained of them was rather different. When Lord Fitzwilliam commenced his short administration in Ireland, he was about to remove Mr. Beresford from office ; of which measure, so fatal to the triumvirate, he gives the following account in his letter to Lord Carlisle. “ On my arrival here, I found all “ those apprehensions of his dangerous power, which Mr. “ Pitt admits I had often represented to him, were fully justified ; when he was filling a situation greater, than that of “ the Lord Lieutenant ; and when I clearly saw, that if I had “ connected myself with him, it would have been connecting “ myself with a person under universal heavy suspicions, and “ subjecting my government to all the opprobrium and un- “ popularity attendant upon his mal-administration. What “ was then to be my choice ; what the decision I had to “ form ? I could not hesitate a moment. I decided at once “ not to cloud the dawn of my administration, by leaving in “ such

admitted to several interviews with Mr. Cooke, at some of which the Attorney General assisted. Mr. Cooke affected to express astonishment and indignation at the information he then received of the Orangemen's oath of extermination. He was assured, that he had it in his power to ascertain the fact, by examining on oath one Bernard Cush, of the 5th Dragoons, then quartered at Carlow, who had been induced, with others, to conspire against Mr. Coile's life: but who, touched with remorse, had disclosed the whole matter to a magistrate. He was sent for by Government, and in the presence of Mr. Cooke, deposed upon oath, as he had before the country magistrate, not only, that such was the form of the Orangeman's oath, which was tendered to him, and which he refused to swear, but which five others concerned in the conspiracy had actually subscribed to in his presence. Mr. Cooke, after

"such power and authority so much imputed malversation." Lord Fitzwilliam began his government by removing two clerks from office, placed in a situation of confidence, but perfectly subordinate, and of no ostensibility. Neither his Excellency, nor his chief Secretary, with whom they were in hourly intercourse, felt inclined to repose confidence in them. One of these was Mr. Cooke, of whom his Lordship thus writes to Lord Carlisle. "Mr. Cooke indeed, whose tone and style rendered his approach to a superior not to be supposed, rejects my proposals in his favor, and thinks a retreat upon 1200l. a year an inadequate recompence for the magnitude and importance of his services."

after having taken the depositions of Cush, pledged himself to Mr. Coile, that Government would immediately have the conspirators apprehended and prosecuted, indemnify him for all his losses, and reward him moreover for his very proper conduct in the whole of the affair. The conspirators were not apprehended: Mr. Coile's losses were not made good to him; he was not rewarded; but continued to be an object of persecution as much at Dublin, as he had been in Armagh. When at another time he remonstrated with Mr. Cooke upon the impropriety of Government having discharged Trimble, the notorious murderer of several Catholics in Armagh, Mr. Cooke declared, that Government had been greatly imposed upon by the magistrates of Armagh; that Trimble was then on board a transport off Cork, and Mr. Under-Secretary pledged his honor, that he should be brought on shore and punished. It ended in promise,

It is incumbent upon us to throw all the day-
light we can collect upon the mysterious secrecy
of Orangism. We rarely conceal what we blush
not to reveal. It will rest in the breast of the
impartial reader what weight he gives to Mr.
O'Connor's answer to the Secret Committee of
the Commons, on the '16th of August, 1798,
when the following presumptive interrogatory

Further
proofs of
the oath
of exter-
mination.

was put to him : as it is reported in Mr. O'Connor's and his associates Memoir.*

" *Committee.* Government had nothing to do with the Orange system, nor their extermination."

Testimony
of Mr.
O'Connor.

" *O'Connor.* You, my Lord Castlereagh, from the station you fill, must be sensible, that the Executive of any country has it in its power to collect a vast mass of information ; and you must know from the secret nature and the zeal of the Union, that its Executive must have the most minute information of every Act of the Irish Government. As one of the Executive, it came to my knowledge, that considerable sums of money were expended throughout the nation, in endeavouring to extend the Orange system, and that the oath of extermination was administered. When these facts are coupled, not only with general impunity, which has been uniformly extended towards the acts of this infernal association, but the marked encouragement its members have received from Government, I find it impossible to exculpate the Government from being *the parent and protector of these sworn extirpators.*"

Further
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Were the object of our present research, to ascertain the rise, progress, and feats of a faction

* Mem. 55. published by P. Robinson, London, 1802.

tion or society, (however useful or mischievous to the country) that existed no more, much detail of evidence might be spared: much observation avoided; many inferences suppressed. But the Society of Orangemen still subsists in the lustful enjoyment of its primeval spirit: it is rendered less objectionable by more plausible and ambiguous tests, and is strengthened by new rules and regulations artfully adapted to fascinate the vulgar into a blind obedience to the most sanguinary commands. *Fas est & ab hoste doceri.*—When Mr. O'Connor was examined by the Secret Committee, he declared, that the Union saw with sorrow, that the cruelties practised by the Irish Government had raised a dreadful spirit of revenge in the hearts of the people: and that they saw with horror, that to answer their immediate views, the Irish Government had renewed their old religious feuds. “But,” said he, “those, who had monopolized the whole political power of the Constitution, finding, that they stood in need of some of the population, and from their monopoly, so directly opposite to the interest of all classes of the Irish nation, they could not hope for the support of any (be their religion what it might) on the score of politics, except those in the pay of Government. Finding how necessary it was to have some part of the population on their side, they had recourse to the old religious

ous

ous feuds, and set an organization of Protestants, whose fanaticism would not permit them to see they were enlisted under the banners of religion, to fight for political usurpation, which they abhorred."

Impunity
and pro-
tection of
Orange-
men.

Whatever may be asserted by the Orangemen and their abettors, of their own impartiality, and of that of Government, certain it is, that notwithstanding the duration and extent of the outrages committed during the preceding 12 months by the Orangemen in Armagh, and the adjoining counties, no statute proclamation or resolution of a public body either specified or punished their offences: no perpetrator of the peculiar crimes of papering, racking and exterminating had been punished: not a single Magistrate had been stricken out of the commission, (except Mr. Greer, who was restored to it) although numbers of them were* known to have connived

In debating upon the Liberty of the Press in the House of Commons, in 1798, Mr. Vandeleur spoke of the Orangemen of Armagh in this extraordinary manner:—"He was astonished, they should be still countenanced and supported by Ministers, though the first Law Officer of the Crown held their excesses, and the conduct of those Magistrates, who countenanced them so much in hatred, that he declared, could he have found other men of sufficient loyalty in the county to fill their places, he would have removed every one of them; from the Magistracy." Will posterity

connived at and encouraged those outrages : and several of them were rewarded with commands in the Yeomanry Corps, and otherwise favoured by Government.

It is not to be imagined, that the atrocious spirit of Orangism confined itself merely to the county of Armagh. It met with too much encouragement elsewhere from persons, whose influence might, as it ought, to have repressed its progress. In the adjoining counties of Tyrone, Antrim, and Down the Catholics were hunted from their dwellings, their chapels razed or burnt, and their property was plundered or destroyed with impunity. Two brothers, industrious tenants of Lord Hertford, Catholics, by name Brangan, were burnt with their whole family, consisting of eight persons, and the house and furniture, whilst the savage Orangemen encircled the flames to prevent escape. Lord Hertford was then in Lisburne. Instant investigation and exemplary rigor were threatened. No punishment ensued. It is to be lamented, that the Orange system was so zealously encouraged from the pulpit. The Rev. S. Cupples,

posterity credit, that the man, who in open Senate, dared to avow those sentiments, was the person, who restored Mr. Greer to the Commission of the peace, after his conviction

S. Cupples, of Lisburne, and Philip Johnson,* of Derriaghy, were prominently zealous in evan-

* *Beauties of the Press*. Lond. Ed. 1800. 357. It is well known, that the *Press* newspaper was not put down for publishing falsehood, but too strong truths.

That letter to the Rev. Philip Johnson from a Presbyterian of Castlereagh contains several instances of the Derriaghy Orangemen outraging Presbyterians and others for befriending the persecuted Catholics. Amongst the clerical evangelizers of Orangism at that time stood conspicuously forward the Rev. Dr. Cleland, Rector of Newton Ardes. He had been private tutor to Lord Castlereagh, and was brought up a Presbyterian. Promises of promotion are said to have worked powerfully towards his conversion. He never stood very high in theological learning: insomuch that he procured the Rev. Dr. Dickson a Dissenting Minister to write for him the thesis, upon which he was ordained by the Bishop of Down. He now lives in Armagh, and about 1804, was inducted into the valuable living of Killeavy, the tithes of which he has contrived to raise from 500*l.* to 1500*l.* per annum. He has been known at one Session at Market-hill to have had above 100 processes against his parishioners. He is considered to have contributed not lightly to that soreness and discontent, which produced the following recent resolution.

“ We, the Grand Jury of the county of Armagh, assembled
 “ at Lent Assizes, 1808, see with much concern the exorbi-
 “ tant demands made by some of the clergy and their proc-
 “ tors in certain parishes in this county in collecting of tithe,
 “ to the very great oppression of their parishioners, and tend-
 “ ing at this time in particular to detach the minds of his Ma-
 “ jesty’s subjects from their loyalty and attachment to the
 “ happy constitution of this country. *Resolved*, That our
 “ representatives be instructed to further with their decided
 “ support any measure, that may be brought forward in the
 “ Imperial

evangelizing the new code. Deputations were sent from Armagh, to inoculate the new lodges with the genuine matter: and the eruption was exuberant. Besides encouraging his Orange parishioners in their orgies, this latter reverend gentleman attacked the house of Mr. James Cochran, a Scotch Presbyterian, a man of most respectable character and exemplary industry, at the unguarded hour of two o'clock in the morning, and hurried him to Carrickfergus goal, where he languished 12 months, without even the remotest appearance of crime, merely because *he judged him a friend to the Catholics.*

Much misrepresentation has been industriously ^{Why so} set afloat concerning the Orangemen of the ^{many} North. It was the wish of the party, that the ^{Presbyterians} Presbyterians should be considered as forward in ^{Orange-} promoting that institution, as the Protestants ^{men.} of the Established Church. Sir Richard Musgrave says, (p. 194) "that in the counties of Fermanagh, Tyrone, Derry, and Armagh, there were 14,000 Yeomen, and most of them Orangemen: and much to the honour of the Presbyterians three-fourths of them were of that order. In Tyrone there were about 5000

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" Yeomen,

" Imperial Parliament for modifying and placing in some more equitable mode the payment of the clergy in this county."

Signed by 23 Grand Jurymen.

“Yeomen, the majority of whom were Presbyterians, and there were about 4,200 Orangemen among them.” He has greatly exaggerated the proportionate number of Presbyterian Orangemen. It is unquestionable, that the Presbyterians generally abhorred the principles of the Orangemen: but it is also certain, that many of them were sworn into their societies. They were however chiefly of the lower orders, who depended for their subsistence upon their landlords. Several persons of great landed interest in those parts insisted upon their Protestant tenants and labourers becoming Yeomen and Orangemen. Such were the Marquis of Hertford, Marquis of Abercorn, Lord Northland, the Earl of Londonderry, Mr. Cope, Messrs. Brownlow and Richardson, members for the county of Armagh, and other possessors of great landed estates in Ulster. It is remarkable, that the parish of Carnmoney, in the county of Antrim, near Belfast, is inhabited by above 15,000 Presbyterians not immediately under such controul, and not an Orangeman was ever known amongst them. Few, if any Presbyterians of independence entered their societies. When the Catholics were first expelled from Armagh, many of them fled for protection and support to Belfast, where the Presbyterians made a stock-purse, and by weekly allowances, in proportion to the numbers of the exterminated families, supported them
till

till they could procure work or settlement. Many of them were enabled to pass over to Scotland, and were encouraged to settle in the neighbourhood of Glasgow and Paisely. This was the beginning of that colony of Irish in that part of Scotland, which at this time is computed to amount nearly to 20,000. The thriving state of the manufactures in the west of Scotland ensured constant employ to the industrious, and the oppression and persecution at home have caused an unceasing emigration of useful hands from Ireland to Scotland.

When in the Autumn of 1796, Mr. Pelham Mr. Pelham's boast of the vigilance of Government. had boasted in Parliament, that Government since the last Session had been exculpated by the Magistrates of Armagh, and that every effort was making there to restore that order, which was approaching every day; Mr. Grattan not ineptly replied, that the persecution had been complained of for years, and the application of the remedy was spoken of only as from the last Session. He further added, that “the audacity of the mob arose from a confidence in the connivance of Government. Under an administration sent thither to defeat a Catholic bill, a Protestant mob very naturally conceived itself a part of the State, and exercised the power of life and death and transportation and murder and rape with triumph;” and

“ and with the seeming sympathy with the Court religion, the Magistrates retired from the scene of action.” As a General Election was then approaching, an invitation was sent from the City of Armagh, (Sir Richard Musgrave says,* it *belonged to the Primate*) to Mr. Pelham and Dr. Duigenan to offer themselves candidates for that City in the ensuing Parliament: a circumstance, which riveted in the minds of the mass of the people the firmest conviction, that the impunity of those fanatic exterminators of Armagh was the immediate effect of their favor at the source of civil and ecclesiastical power.

Scarcely

† Sir Richard Musgrave, in his *Strictures upon the Historical Review* (p. 153.) has gravely said, “ Dr. Duigenan was, I believe, an avowed friend to the Orangemen, as was every loyal man in Ireland.” *Par nobile fratrum!* “ Will any man, who knows Dr. Duigenan, suppose him capable of supporting or favouring a Society sworn to exterminate all the Catholics of Ireland.” In the same page, that sapient panegyrist of Orangemen and of Dr. Patrick Duigenan, assures his readers, “ that outrages were committed by the lower orders of Orangemen I do not deny, but they were excesses of mistaken zeal, or retaliation upon the rebel party, for which, *after the rebellion was put down, (risum tenentis)* the perpetrators were prosecuted by Government, and many of them were convicted and punished.” Was the malign imbecility even of Sir Richard Musgrave to be informed, that Lord Cornwallis was deputed by Mr. Pitt to check, as Lord Camden had been to stimulate the ferocity of the Orangemen, for one and the same purpose—*Legislative Union?*

Scarcely had the Orangemen been brought into organization, than they were taken into the pay of Government. Although the exility of their first wages did not satisfy their expectations, yet it was an earnest of encreasing emolument, and an unequivocal test of the highest approbation. No wonder* then, that the Orangemen persisted so long in their habits of outrage, and so confidently identified themselves with Government. In the Spring of 1796, a large number of delegates from the Orangemen met in the town of Armagh, and entered into several resolutions, which they published in print. One of them purported to be a recommendation to the gentlemen of fortune to open a subscription, declaring, that the *two guineas per man allowed them*

* In the Spring of 1796, three Orangemen voluntarily made oath before a magistrate of Down and Armagh, that the Orangemen frequently met in Committees, amongst whom were some Members of Parliament, who gave them money, and promised they should not suffer for any act they might commit, and pledged themselves, they should be provided for under the auspices of Government. This Magistrate wrote to the Secretary of State, enquiring of him, how he should act in those critical times: that hitherto he had preserved peace on his large estate, but wished to know, how he should act in future: that if it were necessary for the preservation of the present system for him to connive at or encourage the Orangemen in their depredations, he said, as a man, he knew his duty: if it were not necessary, he hoped the Magistrates of the county at large would be made responsible, and be compelled to act against these depredators.

them by Government, was not sufficient to purchase clothes and accoutrements. In the ensuing Autumn, Government found an opportunity of providing for these Orangemen in the armed corps of Yeomanry, which they then greatly encouraged. The Orangemen greedily enlisted; and thus was government enabled to arm, and keep in pay these sworn Orangemen for all their original purposes, without being open to the ungracious charge of hiring and maintaining a body of sworn exterminators.

Orange-
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ry corps,
and why.

The eager enlistment of the Orangemen in these corps, is an evidential link to the combination of engrafting *Protestant ascendancy*, upon religious disunion, and Catholic depression. The Catholics not being generally admitted into the Yeomanry corps, resented the rejection as an invidious distinction, tending to question their loyalty and sincerity in their country's cause. They applied to Mr. Pelham for leave to raise a Catholic corps of Yeomanry: they were told, that they might enter into the corps then raising by their Protestant countrymen. The shyness and reluctance experienced by the few, who first offered their services, deterred others from coming forward. The several Yeomanry corps (except that of the Lawyers) having been thus composed of the most active and prominent members of the Society of Orange-

Orangemen, it would be redundant to attempt a detail of the spirit and principles of their action. In them had Government concentrated the physical force of the Society of Orangemen: and from them, as they were then constituted, did it look to an exuberant harvest of pliancy to all its various projects, from internal disunion to external union. In lieu of secretly hiring a self-constituted band of depredators, they now had in regular pay and command, the same instruments of their designs, under the advantage of being armed, trained and disciplined, and bearing the honorable distinction of the patriotic Defenders of their country. The ascendancy party greedily adopted the arming of that part of the population, on whose co-operation in their own views they could implicitly rely; and as determinately resisted its extension, because no other armed bodies could be raised without resorting to the great body of the people, which it was the system to keep unarmed and depressed. The persons then exercising the plenary powers of the State feared, lest arms put into the hands of others, than their own hirelings, should revive the spirit of the Irish Volunteers, who only laid down their arms, when their country had acquired a free constitution. After the French had been driven off Bantry by adverse winds, Sir Laurence Parsons moved an augmentation of
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the Yeomanry corps to 50,000* men: but was strenuously opposed by Mr. Pelham, Lord Castlereagh, and Mr. Beresford, who *spoke from authority*, alleging, that it would be a most mischievous and dangerous measure. In fact, all the Orangemen capable of service, having enlisted in some of the Yeomanry corps, the party

* Sir Richard Musgrave, in his *Strictures*, (p. 165) says, From the report of the Secret Committee of the Irish House, in 1797, that the first estimate laid before Parliament for 20,000 men, was filled up immediately. In the course of six months, above 37,000 were arrayed, and during the rebellion, the Yeomanry far exceeded 50,000, and might have been increased to a much greater extent. His correctness as to numbers, cannot always be relied upon. In his same work, (p. 168) finding fault with the author of the *Historical Review*, for having asserted, that "little reliance was to be placed on the official accounts of the killed, wounded, and missing in the several engagements and rencountres," he assures his readers, upon the authority of the office of the Adjutant General, as he says, that the whole of the troops of the line and militia, who were killed, or who died during the year 1798, amounted only to 1366 men. In these he may not have reckoned the Ancient Britons, whose losses alone would have amounted to the greater part of that dwindled return. Certain however it is, that such anxiety was there in the Government to keep their losses from the knowledge of the public, that a reward was given of 6l. to any military person, who should prove to his commanding officer, that a fellow-soldier had published or acknowledged before any one, not of his own corps, the death of a military person killed by the rebels.

party did not chuse to put arms into the hands of others, who were not tied by the unconstitutional oaths of secrecy to the support of the *Protestant ascendancy*. All the atrocities therefore of the Yeomen cannot strictly be laid to the account of the Orange Society, as a body; for every Yeoman was not an Orangeman: by far the greatest part and the most mischievous of them were so, and the fostering arm of protection in their foulest deeds, was as visible to the Irish people in their sufferings, as was the monitory hand on the wall to the Babylonian Monarch in his revelry.

Little remarkable happened during the remaining part of the year 1796, or the greater part of the year 1797, that called the Society of Orangemen as a body into action. It would exceed the scope of this Introduction to detail minutely all the outrages known to have been committed in various parts by Orangemen. Even Sir Richard Musgrave's audacity has not ventured to assert, they had ever been repressed or punished by Government, until after the rebellion had been put down, *when the perpetrators were prosecuted by Government, and some of them were convicted and punished.* When a single instance is submitted to the reader for illustration, it is not to be considered as a solitary case. The county of Westmeath, in the Winter of 1797;

Orange
atrocities
unpunished.

found itself in a state of greater tranquillity, than it had for the two preceding years. When, however, in the beginning of 1798, the Orange system was introduced with the Yeomanry, the case was reversed. In the beginning of May, 1798, a certain lieutenant of Yeomanry (afterwards cashiered for various peculations), an Orangeman, marched his corps, and surrounded the house of a farmer Duffy, in which his brother, who was the parish Priest, also dwelt: he entered and ransacked the house, taking out of it every thing valuable, particularly a sum of money he found in the Priest's bureau; and then set fire to it upon pretext of having discovered arms, by producing two poles, which farmer Duffy had for several years used in an eel fishery. This wanton act of atrocity condensed the whole of the lower orders, and worked them into a determination to seek their own revenge, as the law was shut against them. A body of nearly 3000 of them entered the town of Kilbeggan, which contained but a small garrison. Thirty-six of them, by forming into a square, and keeping up a sharp and well-directed fire, cleared the town, and dispersed the insurgents. They were afterwards pursued by a troop of the 7th dragoons, who had entered the town after their repulse, and nearly 300 of them were put to the sword. The town had been quiet for some hours, when six Orangemen (privates), without orders,

orders, set off in the afternoon, and took with them two lads, of the name of Marshall, and marched them some paces from their father's house up to one Greham's, from whom they also brought away his two sons, who were young men. Then, in the presence of their respective parents and families, they ordered the four to kneel down, and instantly murdered them in the most barbarous manner. The following day, another party of Orangemen, of the same description, and equally unauthorized, set out with a proscribed list of their own fabrication, according to each man's private resentment or humour, and calling out the wretched victims, shot and bayoneted seven persons of the town, amongst whom was the very man, who, at the risk of his life, had on the preceding day stolen into Kilbeggan, and by apprizing the small garrison of the intended attack, had been the saviour of them all.*

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* The times were then too turbulent to attempt legal redress. Yet, in the Spring of the next year, 1799, an honorable Baronet, who had himself witnessed these atrocious deeds of blood, supported Marshall in a prosecution for the loss of his two sons. The informations and bills of indictment were sent up to the Grand Jury. Several gentlemen of fortune and respectability proved the facts, and an Orange Grand Jury ignored the bills. The same Grand Jury in like manner returned *ignoramus* to the bills against the executioners of the proscribed list. Thus was it, that the *perpetrators* of Orange atrocities were *convicted and punished after the rebellion was put down*.

Orange-
men en-
creased
and
dreaded
by the
people.

The party, in which the political power of the country had concentrated, now became more than ever sensible, that by the union only of their opponents, could they be outweighed or crushed. Orange Societies had been established in most of the principal towns of the kingdom. The people every where held them in abhorrence. They resented the Orangemen's insulting proscription of above four millions of their fellow-subjects as objects of distrust and enmity. They retained a lively sense of the atrocities of Armagh. They knew them sworn to secrecy, and were convinced of their oath of extermination. They were indignant at the aggravated provocation of Government encouraging them to assume the tone and function* of affording protection to the great population
of

* The excess, to which the Orangemen pushed their lust of controul over the proscribed cast, exceeds credibility. They imperiously arrogated to themselves the divine prerogative of judging, and acting upon their own anticipation of other men's intentions. Sir Richard Musgrave (Strictures upon the Historical Review, p. 228.) has published a string of nine resolutions or declarations, under the title of *Rules and Regulations of the Boyne Society, commonly called Orangemen*; the 8th of which is to the following effect:—"We are individually
" bound to each other, not only to preserve the peace our-
" selves, but also to be active in preventing all others, of
" whatever persuasion or denomination, (who may come
" within our knowledge) that may have an intention to do an
" ill or a wrong act."

of the country, whom they swore to exclude from their societies, as unworthy of course to unite with them in their boasted loyalty. Sensible of this popular impression, and staunch to their original spirit of deceit, five of the leading members of the Orange Society put forth in all the newspapers in 1797, a solemn manifesto of their order, by way of address to the public, disclaiming the imputations of their enemies, and speaking a language of refined loyalty.

TO THE LOYAL SUBJECTS OF IRELAND.

“ From the various attempts that have been made to poison the public mind, and slander those who have had the spirit to adhere to their king and constitution, and to maintain the laws : Orange-men's address.

“ We, the Protestants of Dublin, assuming the name of Orangemen, feel ourselves called upon, not to vindicate our principles, for we know that our honour and loyalty bid defiance to the shafts of malevolence and disaffection, but openly to disavow these principles, and declare to the world the objects of our institution.

“ We have long observed with indignation the efforts that have been made, to foment rebellion in this kingdom, by the seditious, who
“ have

“ have formed themselves into societies, under
 “ the specious names of United Irishmen. We
 “ have seen with pain the lower orders of our
 “ fellow-subjects forced or seduced from their al-
 “ legiance by the threats and machinations of
 “ traitors.

“ And we have viewed with horror the success-
 “ ful exertions of miscreants to encourage a fo-
 “ reign enemy to invade this happy land, in
 “ hopes of rising into consequence on the down-
 “ fal of their country.

“ We therefore thought it high time to rally
 “ round the constitution, and pledge ourselves to
 “ each other, to maintain the laws, and support
 “ our good king against all his enemies, whether
 “ rebels to their God or to their country, and by
 “ so doing, shew to the world, that there is a
 “ body of men in this island, who are ready, in
 “ the hour of danger, to stand forward in the
 “ defence of the grand Palladium of our liberty,
 “ the constitution of Great Britain and Ireland,
 “ obtained and established by the courage and
 “ loyalty of our ancestors, under the great King
 “ William.

“ Fellow-subjects, we are accused of being
 “ an institution founded on principles too shock-
 “ ing to repeat, and bound together by oaths, at
 which

“ which human nature would shudder ; but we
 “ caution you not to be led away by such male-
 “ volent falsehoods ; for we solemnly assure you
 “ in the presence of Almighty God, that the
 “ idea of injuring any one on account of his
 “ religious opinion never entered into our hearts !
 “ We regard every loyal subject as our friend,
 “ be his religion what it may, we have no en-
 “ mity, only to the enemies of our country.

“ We further declare, that we are ready, at
 “ all times, to submit ourselves to the orders of
 “ those in authority, under his Majesty, and
 “ that we will chearfully undertake any duty
 “ which they should think proper to point out
 “ for us, in case either a foreign enemy shall
 “ dare to invade our coasts, or that a domestic
 “ foe should presume to raise the standard of re-
 “ bellion in the land ; to these principles we
 “ are pledged, and in support of them we are
 “ ready to shed the last drop of our blood.

“ Signed by order of the several lodges, in
 “ Dublin, for selves and other masters,

“ THOMAS VERNER,
 “ EDWARD BALL,
 “ JOHN CLAUDIUS BERESFORD,
 “ WILLIAM JAMES,
 “ ISAAC DE JONCOURT.”

This

Gains
them no
credit.
Commen-
ded by
Duigenan
and Pel-
ham.

This specious address tended to irritate the great body of the people proscribed from the Society. They placed no reliance upon the declarations of those, who entered into engagements with one another, which were kept profoundly secret from all other people*. Not so their sympathetic

* Having felt it an historical duty to develope as much of the Orange system as can be verified to the public, we refer the reader to the 5th of their secret articles, which will be found hereafter, in the *rules and regulations for the use of all Orange Societies*, viz. *We are not to carry any money, goods, or any thing from any person whatsoever, except arms and ammunition, and those only from an enemy.* This article developes to the impartial observer more upon reflection, than at first meets the eye. True to their original calling, the Society of Orangemen, in 1800, in adopting that as one of their secret articles, incontestibly proves, that in following up the spirit of their first vocation as *Peep of Day Boys*, they meant to retain the habits and characters of robbers and plunderers. The idea of carrying away money, goods or any thing, except arms and ammunition, and that only from an enemy, could only have arisen in the minds of those, who from actual or intended practice had enjoyed or proposed to acquire the opportunity of assaulting the persons, or breaking into the houses of such persons as possessed those things, which were or were not to be carried away. But who is the enemy, from whom this secret article obliges them to carry away arms and ammunition, and forbids them to carry away other plunder? Evidently not an open enemy, whose life, arms and property are the legitimate perquisites of war. If a secret enemy, his person might indeed be liable to be seized, upon legal information, in order to be brought to justice, but his property could not be touched, till his enmity had been proved.

pathetic friend and advocate, Dr. Duigenan. In a debate in the Commons in 1798, upon the liberty of the press, he held this language* : “ He
 “ was not a friend to any separation of the people
 “ by marks or names of discrimination : but he
 “ could not help saying, that the Orangemen
 “ appeared by declarations published lately in
 “ the public papers, particularly in the Dublin
 “ Journal, to be very good and loyal subjects.
 “ Their declarations breathed nothing but loyal-
 “ ty, and a desire to protect all descriptions of
 “ persons, that should behave themselves in a
 “ neighbourly and peaceable manner, as well
 “ Catholics, as others ; he wondered that any
 “ charge should be made against the Orange-
 “ men in that debate : particularly, as whatever
 “ excesses might formerly have been committed
 “ by them, and which certainly could not be
 “ justified, however they might be extenuated
 “ *by the spirit of loyalty, from which they sprung,*
 “ were now at an end, and did not extend
 M beyond

proved. The truth is, that this secret article is nothing more nor less, than an avowed recognition, revival and perpetuation of the depredatory and persecuting system of Armagh, carried on by the founders of their order in 1795, as much as if it had been explicitly set forth in the following, or any such terms, “ Whenever Orangemen assault a Catholic, or
 “ break into his house, they shall not rob him of his money
 “ or goods, but only of his arms and and gunpowder.” But the Catholic is the enemy, and the Orangemen the judge.

* Parl. Deb. of this date.

“ beyond the limits of a single county, and
 “ that a small one.” Mr. Pelham, in that same
 debate, in defending the Orangemen, made an
 avowal, which falsified the boasted plea of at-
 tenuation urged by his friend Dr. Duigenan.
 “ With respect to the Orangemen and Defen-
 “ ders, whom an honorable gentleman had in
 “ the inadvertence of debate called *rebels*, he
 “ did not for his part think, that either descrip-
 “ tion of those men deserved that epithet.” If
 the Defenders were not rebels, if the Catholics
 were not rebels, how could their persecution and
 extermination spring from a spirit of loyalty?
 It was fairly remarked in that same debate, by
 Mr. Tighe, in reply to Dr. Duigenan’s boast,
 that the Orangemen were willing to defend the
 Catholic, as well as any other man, if he be-
 haved himself as a good subject; “ that if any
 “ particular set of men were allowed to proclaim
 “ themselves as the protectors of this or that de-
 “ scription of people, it would be a most dan-
 “ gerous precedent: if it were permitted to one
 “ body of men, every other would claim it.”

Comment
 on
 Orange
 address.

Had the Orangemen been ever so sincere in
 their address to the public, yet a body of men so
 constituted, as upon the face of their justifica-
 tive instrument they profess themselves to be,
 must essentially be productive of irremediable
 evil in a State. As a very small portion of the
 population

population professing the religion of the State, claiming the confidence and support of Government, and vaunting exclusive loyalty, they assume the lofty tone of protecting their fellow-subjects, whom they proscribe, (of course as enemies) from associating with them in the laudable purpose of *defending their good King against all his enemies, whether rebels to their God, or to their country.* Every loyal subject is by principle and disposition at the command of his Sovereign for these purposes. An instrument of dissimulation never speaks the plain truth. Associations to combine against the King's enemies, in a well ordered State, are mischievous and dangerous, in proportion to the paucity of the associators. Where all, who feel and avow their duty associate, they are useless, and let down the paramount duty of allegiance. Close and proscriptive associations essentially create discontent, jealousy, or enmity in every excluded individual. Where co-operation in the work of loyalty is rejected, protection becomes insult: and short are the intervals between insult, provocation, and resentment. The fellow-subject, who offers his protection to 500 neighbours, some superior, some equal, some inferior to himself, can never command the confidence of those, whom his legitimate or usurped power proscribes and degrades.

Further
comment.

The fanatical cant of associating to repel and punish *rebels to God* is indignantly to be reprobated. It is an impious usurpation of the high prerogative of the Deity to judge the conscience of man, which is only penetrable to the all scrutinizing eye. A man may be a rebel to his King: he may be an enemy to his country. The Orangeman in depopulating the county of Armagh, was an enemy to his country, not strictly *by that act* a rebel to his King. Whether he were a *rebel to his God* in burning out and exterminating the Catholic, merely because he worshipped God in his own manner, is not for human tribunal to decide. But law and common sense refute the buffoonery of Dr. Duignan, that such acts of atrocity can spring from loyalty.

Toleration
of
King
William.

It was a discovery reserved for this illuminated Society of exterminators, that the British constitution was obtained under King William. That he was called over to England to support that constitution, and that it was preserved by conquest in Ireland is true, and devoutly is it wished, that William's principles of toleration (he was a Presbyterian) were imitated by those, who disgrace his name by their savage intolerance.* The five leading Orangemen, who came forth

* Fitting it is, that the ostentatious supporters of the *Protestant ascendancy*, in honor and commemoration of William of Orange,

forth on this occasion with all the pomp of promise, could little expect credit for their professions. The only public deeds, by which their Society, as a body, was then known to the public, were its feats in the county of Armagh. Now it is an obvious, and indeed unavoidable appeal to every man cognizant of them, how far the Society of Orangemen, (being but an extension of the Society of *Peep of Day Boys*) could in the year 1797 truly assert, that “the idea of
 “injuring any one on account of his religious
 “opinions never entered into our hearts: we
 “regard every loyal subject as our friend, be his
 “religion what it may: we have no enmity, but
 “to the enemies of our country.” It will be more than difficult to verify these assertions, when brought to bear upon the persecutions of
 Armagh.

Orange should know, that after that Monarch had taken the same coronation oath, as has ever since been taken by all his successors, he offered to the Duke of Tyrconnell, in order to induce him to surrender Limerick, the following terms for the Irish Catholics, viz:—1. The free exercise of their religion. 2. Half the churches of the kingdom. 3. Half the employments civil and military, if they pleased. 4. The moiety of their ancient properties. These proposals he offered to get sanctioned by an English act of parliament. (Vide my History of Ireland, 2 vol. p. 12.) There also may be seen many traits and proofs of the natural tolerancy of William's disposition, which pointedly contradicts the wicked principles and sanguinary spirit, with which the Orangemen have endeavoured to tarnish his memory and disgrace his name.

Armagh. It must be further observed, that these guarantees of all the Orange lodges in Dublin go no further, than to answer for those, who had been initiated into the Society, after the atrocities of Armagh had been perpetrated.

The address denies not the oath of extermination.

However artfully and strongly this Orange address may have been worked up to delude the popular mind, and throw a varnish over the five leading Orangemen, which would not cover their original founders, yet it cannot elude the slightest observation, that the address contains no denial, that the oath of extermination had been taken by the original members of the institution. The advertisers for themselves and fellow-masters, (their subsequent conduct will shew how sincerely) undertake only to answer for the workings of their own hearts, not for those of the original framers of the Society or of the Institution at large. To defend the King against his enemies is a straight forward duty well known to every loyal subject. No specific association or obligation can strengthen it. To question a man's earnestness in performance of that duty is an actionable offence. What can more deeply wound the feelings of a loyal people, than the monopolizing boast of some favoured minions, that they, exclusively of the great population, are ready to resist the external and internal enemies of the country? But could every other difficulty

difficulty be cleared away, yet would not the waters of the Atlantic wash out that *darned spot* of their sworn secrecy*. It impudently bids defiance

* The Orangemen have to lament the folly or misfortune of having had their cause advocated by Sir Richard Musgrave, a wholesale dealer in falsity and fiction. By way of blunting the edge of just indignation at the nature of the rules and regulations of the Orange Societies, which he foresaw might in the process of time come to light, even through the dark veil of their secret oath, and of imposing upon the public in the mean while, their zealous defender has given in his *Strictures* (p. 225.) seven resolutions, which he says were fabricated by the enemies of the Orangemen, for the purpose of exciting in the breasts of the lower class of Catholics the most malignant and vindictive passions. One should have imagined, that the sagacious Baronet had, in 1804, when he published his *Strictures*, (which, by the bye, were never fairly entered) been long enough in the Customs to have learnt, how much better for use genuine than counterfeit commodities were.

1. Resolved unanimously, that each and every member be furnished with a case of horse pistols and a sword : also, that every member shall have 12 rounds of ball cartridges.

2. Resolved, that every man shall be ready at a moment's warning.

3. Resolved, that no member is to introduce a Papist or Presbyterian, Quaker or Methodist, or any persuasion but a Protestant.

4. Resolved, that no man wear Irish manufacture, or give employment to a Papist.

5. Resolved, that every man shall be ready at a moment's warning, to burn all the chapels and meeting-houses in the city and county of Dublin.

6. Resolved,

fiance to common law and common equity ; dangerously violates the letter of the Statute, and dangerously

6. Resolved, that any man, that will give information of any house he suspects to be an United Irishman's, will get the sum of 5l. and his name kept secret.

7. Resolved, that no member will introduce any man under the age of 19, or over the age of 46.

Whoever attentively compares the genuine rules and regulations printed at the end of this introduction, with these seven resolutions given as fictitious, will perceive less deviation in them from the reality, than he will in Sir Richard Musgrave's *Memoirs of the different Irish Rebellions*. Sir Richard then gives under false titles and dates pieces of the Orange institution, their declaration about the Union, and also a declaration of the *Ulster Orangemen*, and the rules and regulations of the *Boync Orangemen* ; and all with a view to impress the public with a sublime idea of the refined loyalty of their Societies ; even to the minutiae of manners and external apparel. The masters of lodges are not only solemnly enjoined to be most particular in scrutinizing the character of every candidate for admission, but to discountenance, even by imposing fines, any imitation of the manners and dress of traitors. But Sir Richard's drivelling effort to account for and justify the Orangemen's oath of secrecy, is too curious to be withheld from the reader.

(P. 228) “ We declare most solemnly, that we are not
“ enemies to any body of people on account of their religion,
“ their faith, or their mode of worship. We consider *every*
“ *loyal subject our brother*, and they shall have our aid and
“ protection. We are exclusively a Protestant associa-
“ tion.”

(P. 230.) “ Orangemen have no secret to conceal, ex-
“ cept the marks and tokens, by which they know one an-
“ other. In times of turbulence and intestine commotion, it
“ was

gerously encroaches upon the Constitution. Read the *obligations of an Orangeman*, and answer in the face of the country, why this impenetrable veil? Look steadfastly upon truth and loyalty; and say, will they descend to be disguised under any coverlid: and least of all under an illegal

N

and

“ was necessary to have certain words and signs to discriminate friends from enemies, and prevent designing traitors from mixing amongst us. They were necessary to inspire mutual trust and confidence, by indicating similarity of sentiment, and *they are still necessary*, not only to guard against imposition, but to recommend us to the attention and kindness of brother Orangemen, wherever the institution prevails. To divulge these would destroy their utility, and therefore the knowledge of them is strictly and properly confined to themselves.” There is added a note to the foregoing passage of no slight importance, viz.—“ The oath of the Orangemen, *which was not kept secret*, was an oath of allegiance to the King and constitution, besides which, it contained two clauses; one, that they would consider every loyal man of every religious denomination as their brother, and would protect him as such: and another, that they would not divulge the signs, by which they were known to each other.”

Is it not self evident from these declarations, that the secret signs of the Orange Society were to entitle its members to the attention and kindness of brotherhood, wherever the institution prevailed? But the Catholics, who are proscribed from their Society, could not by those secret signs recommend themselves to such attention or kindness: consequently it was an insulting falsehood, that the Orangemen considered *every loyal man of every religious persuasion as their brother*; unless it be followed up by the negative inference, that no man of the Catholic persuasion can be loyal.

and unconstitutional oath of secrecy? What does the black mystery aim at, but to knit together a ferocious banditti, taking with voracious vigilance the bloody signal from the patrons of national disunion?

Extension
of Orang-
ism.

It cannot be too frequently pressed upon the reader, that the establishment of Orangism has become the fatal engine, by which modern ministers effectuate that division of the Irish people, by which they maintain a monopoly of power in the country under the imposing term *Protestant ascendancy*, which their predecessors more modestly termed *English interest*. When Primate Boulter lamented the exposure and consequent failure of the corrupt English job of Wood's patent for a base coinage of halfpence, he spoke to his brother minister without disguise: "The worst of it is, that it tends to *unite Protestant with Papist*: and whenever that happens, good bye to the *English interest in Ireland* for ever." In order to prepare the mind for judging soundly of the grand catastrophe of disunion, it behoves us to trace as correctly as possible the extent of the powers, and multiplication of these engines of division, whilst the managers were getting up and rehearsing the bloody tragedy. In November, 1797,* "in the

* Extracts from the Press, Philad. 1802. p. 191.

" the narrow vicinage of a northern village,
 " (Lisburn) no less than fourteen societies of il-
 " legal associations, under the denominations of
 " Orangemen, and numbered from 138 to 354,*
 " which proves, that so many other societies
 " of the same kind exist, avow themselves in a
 " public advertisement, which appeared in the
 " Evening Post of Thursday (i. e. 23 Nov. 1797)
 " publicly addressing a Mr. Johnson as their
 " chairman, and publishing their resolutions
 " publicly entered into at a meeting held on the
 " Sabbath-day, at the parish church of Der-
 " riaghly," In this same year, the seeds of
 Orangism were profusely sown in and about
 Newry, and promised an early and plentiful
 harvest. The Ancient Britons, who were
 mostly Orangemen, and Mr. Giffard, the great
 apostle of Orangism, then a captain in the

N 2

Dublin

* As it appears by the rules and regulations of the Orange
 societies, settled in 1800, that each lodge shall have ten offi-
 cers, viz. a master and deputy master, a secretary and de-
 puty secretary, a treasurer, and five committee men, it may
 reasonably be inferred from that number of officers, that each
 lodge consists of several score, if not some hundred mem-
 bers. Coupling this with a further and very obvious pre-
 sumption, that the number of lodges, which in November
 1797 fell not short, but may have greatly exceeded 354,
 has since that period been considerably augmented, the
 present aggregate of that base brotherhood is awfully for-
 midable.

Dublin City militia, were quartered there; and by far the greater part of the Newry cavalry and infantry Yeomen were also Orangemen. No wonder then, that this spot was chosen for a renewal of some of the Armagh scenes of extermination, one of which is submitted to the reader,* as it has been narrated to the author, by a gentleman of respectability, who being out with his corps on that day, saw and heard the greatest part himself, and received the rest from the confession of the principal actor in that scene, which took place at a distance.

Massacre
and burn-
ings near
Newry.

In May 1797, a Corporal's guard had been ordered out in the afternoon to search the house of one Hedger at Ballyholan, who was a Presbyterian, for arms; none were found. It happened however on this as on many such occasions, that
the

* This scene was selected from amongst others, not merely from the possession of the most undeniable evidence (the author has evidence of many others, which he suppresses) of the facts, but because it has always been considered to have mainly contributed to the rebellion, which took place in the next year. Government boasted of having made it explode. They forgot, that they had created the disaffection, from which it proceeded. It appears from Dr. M'Nevin's examination before the secret committee of the Commons (that part of it, which affects this subject will be hereafter quoted for another purpose) that Mr. Corry allowed, that houses were burnt about Newry, and Lord Castlereagh boasted, that they had weakened the rebellion by the means taken to make it explode.

the searchers made free with articles of dress or furniture, as their fancies suggested. Here the search ended in the appropriation of a silk handkerchief, which one of the military purloined. This produced some observation and sarcasm from several of the neighbouring peasants, whom curiosity had brought round Hedger's dwelling during the search. There lived close by one Brennan, a weak half-witted man, who was a private in the Newry Yeomen infantry. He ran instantly to town, and gave out, that the party was surrounded and perhaps cut to pieces. Immediately the trumpet and bugle sounded, and the Ancient Britons, some of the Dublin City Militia under Captain Giffard, and several of the Newry Yeomanry turned out and hastened towards Ballyholan, without order or any special command. For the space of a mile or two the face of the country was covered with the military moving in disorder, and acting without any other fixed plan, than that of general massacre and extermination. The Ancient Britons hewed down all the countrymen in coloured clothes they met, or overtook; they took no prisoners. The militia fired at some fugitives, but made several prisoners, amounting in the whole to about 26. The Yeomen infantry principally shewed their prowess by firing into the thatch of the cabins and setting fire to them. Upon the first appearance of the military the most active of the peasants made their escape.

A party

Same sub-
ject conti-
nued.

A party of the Ancient Britons came up to a cluster of houses, which they set fire to. They had been all abandoned except one, which contained an old infirm man, that was bedridden, attended by his daughter. She threw herself on her knees, and after several refusals at last obtained leave from the commanding officer to permit her father to be carried out of the house. He had not been removed one minute before the roof fell in. After the bugle had sounded to rally, and the troops were drawn up in line near Mr. Hana's Park, one of the Ancient Britons rode up to Sir Watkin Williams Wynne their commander, and said the rebels were in the park and the wood adjoining: when they received orders from their commander to spare no one. They immediately dispersed. Three of them perceiving something moving in a thicket, successively fired into it: and one of them shot an unfortunate lad of about 10 years of age through the left eye. He had been attending some cows on the road, but on seeing the military had endeavoured to conceal himself from their fury in that thicket. He was shewn to Sir Watkin Williams Wynne by an officer, whose humanity was shocked, and the commander observing, that he was sorry for the mistake, ordered one of his men to take him up behind him, and convey him to the hospital.*

* His name is Fagan, and he is still living at Newry.

Another lad of about 14 years of age had been most inhumanly butchered, his head split in twain and nearly severed from his body. His father and uncle having heard of the misfortune went after his corpse, and were taken prisoners by the militia men under Captain Giffard. One Hand, a revenue officer, at the risk of his life went up to a gentleman of the Yeoman cavalry, to whom he was known, and entreated him to return to the party, and inform them, that some of the Ancient Britons, after having killed that lad, had fired into his house at his wife, who was far gone with child, and he was afraid that he should be murdered himself. He entreated to have the boy brought down to the road, through which the military were to pass, in order, that the commanding officer should see him, and be thereby induced to release the father and uncle. Captain Giffard expressed high offence at the boy's corpse having been brought into sight, and immediately took the two men, who had brought it to the road, into custody. Sir Watkin Williams Wynne, when he was informed of the circumstance, ordered the father and uncle to be released. Two Ancient Britons, one of them by name Ned Allen, had strayed about a mile from the main body to a farm-house of Mr. Robert Maitland's. Near the gate stood a boy, named Ryan, about six years of age, whom they ordered to open it: the child said he would,
if

if they would not hurt him. Before he could open it, one of them struck at the child with his sabre over the gate, and broke his arm. They still insisted upon his opening it, which the child did with his other hand, and they rode through and cut up the boy with their sabres, and one of them made his horse (though with much difficulty) trample upon him. They entered the house, and having taken the key of the cellar, sat down to drink: in the mean time three of the Dublin City Militia came up to the house, and joined them in drinking. The Ancient Britons gave Orange toasts: the militia men gave Irish toasts. They quarrelled and fought: one of the militia men was killed, and the other two severely wounded with the sabres of the Ancient Britons. The two Ancient Britons were afterwards tried for the murder, and were instantly acquitted. About 30 houses were burnt, and 11 persons were killed. Thus closed this unfought day of blood.*

We

* Such was the vindictive animosity, which the people bore to the corps of Ancient Britons, that after the insurrection had, partly by their means, been made to explode, as Lord Castlereagh boasted, they never came into contact with the rebels without being reminded of *Ballyholan*, and they were generally refused quarter. The corps of ancient Britons was the largest, that came over from England, They exceeded 1000 effective men, and it is generally computed, that not nearly one tenth of the privates, who first came over, survived the contest. Deficiencies were partly supplied by fresh recruits.

We are arrived at that bloody tragedy of 1798, ^{Rebellion} which deprived his Majesty of 70,000 most use- ^{in 1798.} ful subjects, whom wiser councils would have preserved to fight the battles of the British empire against its most potent enemy. Without attempting to reprobate or justify the policy of the Irish government's pursuing a system of coercion and terror, be it conceded, that it did exist;* and that it caused the rebellion to break
 O out

* As the policy of these preliminary measures of extraordinary harshness is still fiercely contested by the opposite parties, it will be but fair to submit to the reader the pith of the adverse opinions. Sir Richard Musgrave, who was secretly employed, privately rebuked, and publicly rewarded for pangenyzing the Camden administration, after having boasted of the happy consequence of the great rigour and severity, which took place under Lord Camden's government, (p. 161, Str.) sums up the justification of all the illegal and unconstitutional acts of that period, in a quaint piece of advice of Lord Carhampton to Lord Camden, which was in the mouth of every loyal man in the upper ranks of life in Ireland. "My Lord, if you suffer them to go to war with you, and you go to law with them, it does not require much sagacity to foresee the issue of the contest." On the other side, the most authentic representation of the sense generally entertained of those harsh measures of government will be collected from the principal leaders of the United Irishmen, who fully disclosed their genuine sentiments upon that subject to the Secret Committees of the Lords and Commons, in 1798. On the 10th of August, Mr. Emmet, before the Secret Committee of the Lords, was asked by Lord Chancellor *Clare*.

Pray

out at Naas on the 23d of May, which terminated exactly four months from that day, by the surrender

"Pray, Mr. Emmett, what caused the late insurrection?"

Emmett. "The free quarters, the house burnings, the tortures and the military executions in the counties of Kildare, Carlow and Wicklow."—p. 36.

On the 10th of August, when Mr. Arthur O'Connor was under examination of the Secret Committee of the Commons, he was questioned by them:

Committee. "What is the object the people have in view at present?"

O'Connor. "I believe they have laid by for the instant all idea of speculative politics, and think only how they shall annihilate the insupportable usurpation and cruelty of the British and Irish government, and how they shall best avenge the blood, which has been shed, and the tortures, that have been inflicted, to support a government they detest."—p. 56.

When Dr. McNevin was upon his examination before the Secret Committee of the Commons, on the 8th of August 1798, he was questioned more particularly:

Speaker, Mr. Foster. "Pray, Sir, what do you think occasioned the insurrection?"

Dr. McNevin. "The insurrection was occasioned by the house burnings, the whippings to extort confessions, the torture of various kinds, the free quarters, and the murders committed upon the people by the magistrates and the army."

Speaker. "This only took place since the insurrection."

Dr. McNevin. "It is now more than twelve months (looking at Mr. Corry) since those horrors were perpetrated by the Ancient Britons about Newry; and long before the insurrection they were quite common through the counties of

Kildare

surrender of Humbert's handful of Frenchmen at Ballinamuck. During that period of four months we are willing, that the characteristic traits of Orange ferocity should merge in the natural acrimony of an open civil war. The nature,

" Kildare and Carlow, and began to be practised with very great activity in the counties of Wicklow and Wexford.

Corry and Latouche. " Yes, a few houses were burned.

Speaker. " Would not the organization have gone on, and the union become stronger, but that the insurrection was brought forward too soon?

M'Nevin. " The organization would have proceeded, and the union have acquired that strength, which arises from order: Organization would at the same time have given a controul over the people capable of restraining their excesses; and you see scarcely any have been committed in those counties, where it was well established.

Lord Castlereagh. " You acknowledge the union would have been stronger, but for the means taken to make it explode.

M'Nevin. " It would every day have become more perfect, but I do not see any thing in what has happened, to deter the people from persevering in the union and its objects: On the contrary, if I am rightly informed, the trial of force must tend to give the people confidence in their own power, as I understand it is now admitted, that if the insurrection was general and well conducted, it would have been successful.

Lord Castlereagh. " Were not the different measures of the government, which are complained of, subsequent to various proceedings of the United Irishmen?

M'Nevin. " Prior, my Lord, to most of them. If your Lordship desire it, I will prove by comparison of dates, that government throughout has been the aggressor."—
(His Lordship was not curious.)

ture, however, of this disquisition calls for some notice of the operations of Orangemen, immediately before and immediately after that fatal contest, in order to trace the continuance of the spirit and principles of the Orange societies, and their effects upon Ireland, from their institution up to the Union; from which period their more notable achievements will find their order in the ensuing history.

Wexford
insurrec-
tion.

The insurrection of Wexford, which was the most formidable and bloody of any in Ireland, cannot be passed unnoticed, because it originated out of *Orange* outrage. There had long existed in the county of Wexford a numerous party of Protestants marked for their acrimony to Catholics. It should seem, as if the Orange emissaries had not thought it worth their while to introduce their system into a county, in which disunion had already taken such deep root. In fact, Orangism was little known in that county till the month of April, 1798, when it was introduced into it by the North Cork militia commanded by Lord Kingsborough (now Earl of Kingston.) That corps superabounded with Orangemen,* who were encouraged by their co-
lonel

* It will appear by the 14th of the general rules for the government of Orange lodges, among the *Rules and Regulations*

lonel in displaying the triumphant *insignia* of their institution, such as medals and Orange ribbands at their breasts, and in proselytizing for their order. In the alarming crisis of those times, the sure favour of government and protection of the military gained many converts. The propagation of their sect was rather Mahometan

lations for the use of all Orange Societies, printed at the end of this introduction : “ That as regiments are considered as
 “ districts, the masters of all regimental lodges do make half
 “ yearly returns of the number, names and rank of the mem-
 “ bers of their lodge, to the secretary of the Grand Lodge.
 “ but they shall not make an Orangemap, except the officers,
 “ non-commissioned officers and privates of their respective
 “ regiments : and that they do remit to the Grand Treasurer
 “ of Ireland the half yearly subscription, as well as that,
 “ which is immediately to take place.” This accounts for the narrative of Mr. Hay (p. 175.) “ A pitch cap being
 “ found in the barrack of Wexford, and an Orange com-
 “ mission or warrant, appointing a serjeant of the North
 “ Cork militia to found an Orange lodge in the town, roused
 “ the people from the utmost tranquillity to the highest pitch
 “ of fury. This quickly drew together great numbers in
 “ the barrack yard, and their horror of the Orange system
 “ was so excited, that in those emblems they imagined they
 “ possessed the most convincing proof of their intended ex-
 “ termination.” Here too, as in other parts, the introduction of Orange lodges tended wonderfully to extend the Union. Such was the dread, which the Catholics conceived of the Orangemen, that they readily listened to the insinuations of the few United Irishmen in that county, and for self preservation sheltered their individual fears under collective confidence.

tan than Christian. Terror superseded conviction. These military savages were permitted both by magistrates and officers, in open day, to seize every man they wished or chose to suspect as a *Croppy*, and drag him to the guard house, where they constantly kept a supply of coarse linen caps, besmeared inside with pitch; and when the pitch was well heated, they forced the cap on his head, and sometimes the melted pitch running into the eyes of the unfortunate victim superadded blindness to his other tortures. They generally detained him till the pitch had so cooled, that the cap could not be detached from the head without carrying with it the hair and blistered skin: they then turned him adrift, disfigured, often blind, and writhing with pain. They enjoyed, with horrid bursts of laughter, the fiend-like sport of seeing their victims either fall down, or knock their heads against the walls, in their eager but blind efforts to escape their torturers. This caused abhorrence and dread amongst their countrymen. At other times they rubbed moistened gunpowder into the hair in form of a cross, and set fire to it; and not unfrequently sheared off the ears and nose of the tortured *croppy*. They abused, both by word and action every female, that happened to have a tint of green in her apparel. The most notorious master of these infernal sports, both for invention and

and execution, was a serjeant of the North Cork militia, nicknamed *Tom the Devil*. These atrocities were daily renewed and continued with impunity, up to the breaking out of that insurrection. Those Orange fiends never dismissed from their guard house an unfortunate victim without expressing their inhuman joy by savage yells of exultation.* No wonder then, that the
Wexford

* See Mr. Hay's valuable and authentic history of the insurrection of the County of Wexford, (p. 58,) & *alibi*. That gentleman was an eye witness to the whole of the Wexford insurrection, and is an illustrious instance of the utility of cotemporary history.

With difficulty does the mind yield reluctant credit to such debasement of the human species. The spirit, which degrades it to that abandonment, is of no ordinary depravity. It wars with the first elements of social nature, and should be wrenched with the strongest arm of power from the state, in which it has taken root. To prevent its continuance and growth in Ireland, by developement of its noxious powers, is the intent of this publication. The knowledge of a national evil is the first step towards its removal. The spirit of Orangism would never have existed in the country, but for the encouragement and countenance, which the higher orders gave to the lower. It would be uncandid to retail only instances of the brutality of the lower orders, whilst evidence is forthcoming of persons of fortune and education being still more brutalized by its deleterious spirit. As a gentleman of respectability was passing near the Old Custom-house, Essex-bridge, Dublin, in the afternoon of Whit-sunday, 1798, two spectacles of horror, covered with pitch and gore, running, as if they were blind, through the streets arrested his attention.

The

Wexford insurgency assumed a degree of vindictive ferocity known to no other part of the kingdom. It became a contest between Catholics and Orangemen. Of this, Sir Richard Musgrave has afforded (perhaps unintended) testimony, by giving the copy of a certificate* signed by a Catholic priest, by way of passport, on the memorable day, on which Wexford was evacuated, and Lord Cornwallis assumed the reins of government.

The

They were closely followed out of the Old Custom-house by Lord Kingsborough and Mr. John C. Beresford, whom he knew, and by an officer in uniform whom he knew not. They were pointing and laughing immoderately at these tortured fugitives. One of them was John Fleming, a ferry-boatman, and the other Francis Gough, a coach smith. They had been unmercifully flogged to extort confessions; but having none to make, they were called out on this festival, had melted pitch poured over their heads, and feathers struck into it. The right ear of Fleming was clipped off, and Gough lost all his hair. They were sent adrift, without a rag of clothes, to make their escape through the streets. Gough's flagellation was superintended by Lord Kingsborough, who almost at every lash questioned him how he liked it: it was so severe as to have confined him six months to his bed. The same spirit of Orangism moved the Colonel in Dublin, and his sergeant at Wexford. The effects of that spirit can only be fairly illustrated by facts. These have been verified to the author by the spectator and sufferer.

* "A. of B. in the parish of C. has done his duty, and proved himself a Roman Catholic, and has made a voluntary oath, that he never was an Orangeman, nor took the Orange oath. F. J. BROZ. Dated Wexford, June 21, 1793."

The arrival of Lord Cornwallis in Ireland opens a new scene of the fatal tragedy, upon the success of which Mr. Pitt boasted of resting his reputation with posterity. Lord Camden had long solicited his recall. But the measure of exhaustion was incomplete, whilst Ireland could lift an eyelid. The terrifier became affrighted. *Exangues terreat umbras.* Mr. Pitt sent over Lord Cornwallis in haste and trepidation to administer emollients and restoratives ; and should he be so fortunate as to discontinue her agonizing throbs, to soothe her into the measure of Union, before the convalescent should have caught a glimpse of full recovery. Mr. Pitt was a master of stage effect, and the subtlety, with which he descended to the lowest shifts of deception was unrivalled. His eloquence, his credit, even his ambition gave way to his craft. Lord Cornwallis, the minister of Mr. Pitt's views upon Ireland arrives in his twofold mission (to quell rebellion and enforce the Union) armed with the double power of civil governor and military commander. Unlike to his two immediate predecessors, he was not placed under the tutelage of the Irish managers, but directed to assume a character of his own, apparently independent of the British cabinet, which should let down the power of the Orangeman, now grown formidable even to Mr. Pitt, and raise the Catholic into confidence and assurance, whilst he endeavoured

Lord
Cornwallis arriv
in Ire-
land.

to seduce him to the treacherous embraces of a legislative Union. In the execution of the first part of his commission, Lord Cornwallis soon acquired the confidence of the Catholic body, and incurred the hatred and abhorrence of the whole Orange faction. Not one of either party was at that time initiated into the mysterious game the Irish Viceroy had to play for the British minister. He was to put down for a time the ferocity of the Orangeman by the physical force of the Catholic ; he was to promise emancipation, as the price of Union : he was to forfeit that promise, when he had received the stipulated price : he was to leave the ungracious refusal to those, who were known unwilling to propose and unable to carry the measure.

Lord
Cornwal-
lis the
tool of
Mr. Pitt.

Lord Cornwallis was as much the tool of Mr. Pitt,* as his immediate predecessor Lord Camden.

* Lord Cornwallis was sent over by Mr. Pitt for three purposes : 1st, To put down the rebellion, which was acquiring more strength, than the excisers of it had intended. 2d, To force external union upon the convulsive struggles of an agonizing people. 3d, To perpetuate internal discord, by keeping on foot a permanent body of intolerants, secretly sworn to proscription and persecution. After the rebellion had been completely extinguished in 1798, the Catholic was wanted and fulsomely courted by the Chief Governor to support the Union. Every thing soothing and flattering was done, that was trivial. Every thing promised, that was important. Nothing

den. The degradation of Ireland, by the surrender of her political existence had been the

P 2

implacable

thing harsh, grating, or irritating, was in the mean time countenanced or permitted. Internal union, harmony, and amnesty were the stile, spirit, and order of the Castle. No sooner had the rebellion been put down, than Sir Richard Musgrave was set to work by the party, and with clerical and other aid, he soon raked together an undigested heap of acrimonious falsehood and obloquy, which he called *Memoirs of the different Rebellions in Ireland*. His work was dedicated by permission to Marquis Cornwallis, and was afterwards forced into circulation with more than the ordinary countenance of power. His Lordship, it appears, in accepting the dedication of that work, which was completed, and might have been published long before the Union was accomplished, accompanied the favor with an indispensable condition, that it should not make its appearance, till that great master-piece of Mr. Pitt's policy should have been finally established. The work was well known to Lord Cornwallis to be of so irritating a nature to the Catholics, as to endanger the measure of Union by the subtraction of their support had it appeared, whilst opposition could be available. The Union passed. Lord Cornwallis's reason for keeping the work suppressed was gone by. The injunction was dissolved. The work appeared. Lord Cornwallis in a private letter disclaimed his acceptance of the acrimonious calumny. Sir Richard Musgrave's warmth in supporting the Union, traducing Ireland, and calumniating the Catholics, was rewarded by the collectorship of the City of Dublin Excise. A valuable appointment, which he still enjoys. It was not given to him by Lord Cornwallis, for that might not have been consistent; but by Lord Hardwicke, his successor, before the worthy Baronet had enjoyed an opportunity of rendering any services to his Government. In historical discussion the private virtues and feelings of the man are absorbed
in

implacable resolve of that ambitious Statesman,
ever since her rejection of his commercial propo-
sitions

in the public character allotted to the individual. The personal merits of Lord Hardwicke stand eminently conspicuous. But when he accepted of the Vice-royalty of Ireland, under the Administration of Mr. Addington, he stood before the public enveloped, not only with the mantle of royal authority, but of personal responsibility for his proper management of the executive powers of government in Ireland. The patronage of the Crown of Ireland flowed immediately from him, as representing the person and executing the supreme will of the Sovereign. What confidence then could the Irish people repose in that Governor, who in the very outset of his Administration thought fit to bestow the valuable appointment of collectorship of the City of Dublin Excise upon Sir Richard Musgrave the notorious traducer of his country, falsifier of her history, and disturber of her peace. One of the last acts of Lord Cornwallis, was to apprise that Baronet, through Sir E. B. Littlehales, on the 24th March, 1801, "that had his
" Excellency been apprized of the contents and nature of the
" work, he would never have lent the sanction of his name
" to a book, which tends so strongly to revive the dreadful
" animosities, which have so long distracted this country, and
" which it is the duty of every good subject to endeavour to
" compose." One of the first acts of Lord Hardwicke's Government, was to reward this reviver of animosity by the appointment to a most valuable situation in the collection of the revenue. What are the obvious reflections upon this transaction? That the Baronet did the work of his task-masters; and though one of them squeamishly disclaimed his order, yet another in support of the system paid the wages of his contract, and permitted him to enlarge and extend by two editions that very work, which had been so formally denounced

sitions in 1785. With this view he debauched Ireland, under the Duke of Rutland. He re-established her dependance upon the British Minister through the Marquis of Buckingham.* He weakened her under the Earl of Westmoreland. He tantalized and taunted her by the transit of Earl Fitzwilliam. He exasperated her under the Earl of Camden. He debased her under Marquis Cornwallis. And by continuing the Earl of Hardwicke in his Government, he insidiously rivetted by pretending to lighten her fetters. To each governor he allotted his part. Lords Westmoreland and Camden he handed over without reserve or controul to his Irish managers: those very men, whom he permitted on certain conditions to monopolize for a time the whole power of the State, under the insidious pretext

nounced as tending to revive the dreadful animosities of the country, which it was the duty of every good subject to compose. To the public virtues of which of the three actors in this transaction does Ireland owe the most gratitude? The sincerity of the Marquis, the delicacy and justice of the Earl, or the patriotism of the Baronet?

* On the Gala given in Dublin upon the King's recovery, after that nobleman had regained his majority in parliament against the patriotic supporters of the Prince of Wales's right to an unfettered regency, he proposed, after the health of their Majesties had been drunk, not merely in priority to, but in exclusion to the Prince of Wales, the health of Mr. Pitt, *the friend of Ireland!!!*

pretext of supporting *Protestant ascendancy*. For this he allowed them to wear the vizor : he well knew the baseness of their servitude, and the mischief of their deeds. Lords Cornwallis and Hardwicke played Mr. Pitt's game as faithfully by curbing and chastening the pruriency and ferocity of the Orangeman, as Lord Camden had by permitting his managers to stimulate him to outrage.

Conduct
of the
Orange-
men after
the rebel-
lion.

The nature of this disquisition requires a faithful outline, at least, of the more prominent feats of Orangemen, and of the understanding, which subsisted between them and the Government during the interval between the close of the rebellion; and the birth of its forced and unnatural issue the Union. *Veneris monumenta nefandæ*. When Mr. Pitt came to look closely down the precipice, to the verge of which he had forced this valuable portion of his Majesty's inheritance,* he recoiled with horror at his own temerity, and insidiously enlarged the powers of the chief governor to any extent, which in his discretion he might find necessary to impress the people

* When Dr. M'Nevin was under examination of the Secret Committee, he answered a question put to him by Sir John Parnell, thus. " People agree, that if the insurrection of a few counties in Leinster, unskillfully as it was directed, was so near overthrowing the Government, a general rising would have freed Ireland." (p. 77.)

people with a conviction, that a permanent inversion of the system was sincerely meant. Little anxious was he for the consequences of future disappointment and indignation of the people, provided the temporary deception answered his purpose of ensnaring them into the Union. Caution and tenderness were in the mean time strongly recommended not to drive the ascendancy party into revolt, but occasionally to bestow honors and rewards on some of their more violent leaders, should it be found necessary to keep them steady in their ranks, and above all to prevent desertion and disunion amongst the subalterns sworn into their service by the oath of secrecy. To the effects of these instructions are to be ascribed the knighthood and pension conferred on Sir Thomas Judkin Fitzgerald, the Sheriff of Tipperary, against whom a jury had found £500 damages, for having flogged nearly to death a respectable gentleman, Mr. Wright,* merely for having in his pocket a note of excuse, written in the French language. Parliament, on the virtuous opposition of Mr. Yelverton, rejected his petition to be indemnified in that instance, but instantly passed an act to indemnify all Magistrates and officers prospectively, who should exceed the law in like cases. He was honoured and rewarded, as stated.

The

† N. B. He is second cousin to Mr. Shaw, the member for Dublin.

Orangism
after the
rebellion
was put
down.

The keeping certain corps of Orange Yeomanry on permanent duty for insufficient or worse reasons must be laid to the like account. Certain commanders of these corps, in the county of Tipperary fabricated, secreted, and discovered pikes in parts of the country, which were perfectly tranquil, in order that they might be in the receipt of their men's pay, who were all their tenants, and which they withheld for rent. Those same gentlemen were also in the untroubled habit of holding mock sessions over their bottle, after dinner, under the insurrection act, and sentencing without trial to transportation any of their neighbours they found troublesome or disagreeable, that were brought before them.* The patricide alone would suppress the crying enormity of orders systematically given to the different corps of yeomanry, into which, says their advocate and encomiast, Sir Richard Musgrave,† "the loyal Orangemen were instantly admitted, and of which they formed by far the most considerable part." The feelings and judgment of the reader are most specially summoned to be alive to every circumstance attending the deliberate and inhuman murder of Thomas Dogherty by Hugh Wollaghan.

Thomas

* *Rex v. White & Goring*. B. R. Mich. 1800: Where these and many more outrageous doings of those Magistrates are proved by numerous affidavits filed in the cause.

† *Striot*, 165.

Thomas Dogherty was a sick lad lying on the lap of his mother in her cabin, in which situation he was most inhumanly murdered by Wollaghan a Yeoman.* For this atrocious murder Wollaghan was brought to trial before a court martial, of which the Earl of Enniskillen was president.† Every circumstance of aggravation was fully proved. No attempt was made to disprove a particle of the evidence. But a justification was set up, that the horrid murder had been committed under a regular order of the commanding officer. And what forsooth was that order? That *if any Yeoman on a scouring party* (which were almost daily) *should meet with any, whom he knew or suspected to be a rebel, he need not be at the trouble of bringing him in, but was to shoot him on the spot.* This order, and the constant acting up to it by the corps was proved by one private, one serjeant, and two lieutenants of Yeomanry. Captain Archer swore, that Wollaghan was a sober and diligent man, ready to obey his officers, and an acquisition to the corps. Captain Gore confirmed Captain Archer's evidence in every parti-

Murder of
Dogherty
by Woll-
aghan a
Yeoman,
and its
conse-
quences.

q

cular;

* The particulars of this moving case are minutely detailed in Hist. Rev. 3 vol. p. 810.

† The other members of the court-martial were

Major Brown, L. I. D.	Captain Irwin, Fermanagh,
Captain Onge, ditto,	Captain Carter, R. I. D.
Capt. Lesley, Fermanagh,	Lieutenant Summers, 68th.

cular ; and added, that other corps had similar orders in other districts. Here the defence closed, and the court acquitted the prisoner. Need it be observed, that here an Orange murderer was acquitted by sympathising Orange judges and jurymen. A court martial sets upon oath in both characters. The profligacy was too rank, not to be publicly stigmatized by Lord Cornwallis. The Union was yet at an awful and uncertain distance ; and he had it in command to persuade the people, that he was sent over to invert the system of Orange impunity and remuneration. The following official letter was accordingly written to General Craig.

" Dublin, October 18, 1798.

" SIR,

*" Having laid before the Lord Lieutenant
 " the proceedings of a general court martial,
 " held by your orders in Dublin Barracks, on
 " Saturday the 13th instant, of which Colonel,
 " the Earl of Enniskillen is president, I am directed to acquaint you, that his Excellency
 " entirely disapproves of the sentence of the
 " above court martial acquitting Hugh Wollaghan of a cruel and deliberate murder, of
 " which by the clearest evidence he appears to
 " have been guilty. Lord Cornwallis orders
 " the court martial to be immediately dissolved,
 " and directs, that Hugh Wollaghan be dismissed*

“ missed from the corps of Yeomanry, in which
 “ he served, and that he shall not be received
 “ into any other corps of Yeomanry in this
 “ kingdom. His Excellency further desires,
 “ that the above may be read to the president
 “ and the members of the court martial in open
 “ court. I have the honor to be, Sir,

“ Your most obedient humble Servant,

“ H. TAYLOR, Sec.

“ Lieut. Gen. Craig, &c. &c.

“ P. S. I am also directed, that a new court
 “ martial be immediately convened, for the trial
 “ of such prisoners, as may be brought before
 “ them, and that none of the officers, who sat
 “ upon Hugh Wollaghan be admitted as mem-
 “ bers.”

In the year 1799, amongst several regiments Orange-
 of English militia, which had volunteered their ^{men pro-} services to help to put down the rebellion, was ^{selytize} amongst
 that of Cambridgeshire, commanded by the Earl ^{the Eng-} lish regi-
 of Hardwicke. Hence several circumstances ^{ments.}
 highly material to this disquisition have come
 to light, which would otherwise have been bu-
 ried like so many others in Orange darkness.
 It appears, that the Orange emissaries were very
 active in proselytizing amongst the different
 corps then newly arrived from England. When

the unsuspicious character of the English is considered, and the natural forwardness of the soldier to profess even to ostentation his zeal and loyalty for the King is taken into the scale, no wonder, that by plausible affectation of extraordinary loyalty and zeal for religion, many Englishmen were induced to become members of societies, which professed to have no other, than these laudable objects in view. No preliminary communication of the terms or obligation, no probationary trial preceded the engagement. Unguarded confidence induced several English officers and soldiers to swear to the Orange obligation. Reflection could only ensue the knowledge acquired by having sworn. The shame and repentance at having blindly entered into a solemn obligation on oath, the personal dread of divulging the secrets of men of no mild or forgiving disposition, the conscientious qualms at having taken an oath either *of extermination*, or of *conditional allegiance*, operated variously upon the reflecting and penitent minds of the unthinking jurors, and left them all under considerable, and different degrees of embarrassment and perplexity.*

The

* These effects have not been unfrequent even amongst the Irish. But few have the resolution to avow their own shame or repentance at what they have unadvisedly done. The author has been assured by a gentleman of veracity, that he was one of a mixed company of 27, who dined with Sir William Stamer

The noble colonel of the Cambridgeshire militia, by some means or other became so strongly impressed with the mischief of those Orange Societies (none other then existed in Ireland), that he found it expedient to issue the following Order.

Lord
Hard-
wicke's
order
against
entering
into
Orange
lodges.

" Dublin, April 17, 1799.

" REGIMENTAL ORDER.

" The Earl of Hardwicke having been in-
 " formed, that several lodges and societies exist
 " in this town, and other parts of Ireland,
 " formed for party and other mischievous pur-
 " poses, under various denominations, makes it
 " his particular request to all the officers not to
 " suffer themselves to become members of any
 " of them. And all non-commissioned officers
 " and soldiers are strictly forbidden to be mem-
 " bers of any such lodges or societies, or to
 " frequent them under any pretence. Any man
 " discovered to have transgressed this order,
 " must expect the consequences of such disobe-
 " dience."

Stamer (the present Lord Mayor of Dublin). When that gentleman said openly at his own table, in the presence, and to the visible mortification of several Brother Orangemen, that after long importunities he had at last been sworn in an Orangeman: that he had attended one lodge night, but that no earthly consideration should ever induce him to attend another,

"dience." Lord Hardwicke has full credit for having acted in this instance uprightly and prudently. As colonel of the Cambridgeshire militia, having no controul over other persons in Ireland, than those, who composed his own regiment, he forbad his men, as far as his power over them extended, to become Orangemen; because the Orange Societies *were formed for party and other mischievous purposes*. Lord Hardwicke then was too honorable and too honest to pass a sentence at the head of his regiment of such indiscriminate reprobation, against societies loudly professing the most refined zeal and loyalty for Church and King, unless he well knew their professions belied their principles and their practices. His Lordship then acted upon the unchecked impulse of his native feeling and judgment. He was still unmannacled by politics.*

The

* In the year 1804, the author published a Posthumous Preface to his Historical Review of the State of Ireland, in which he said "that the quintessence of Orangism was necessarily productive of disunion and enmity between the members of the Orange clubs and those, who could not be admitted into them. The prevailing belief, that their Vice-roy, when colonel of the Cambridgeshire militia, had been sworn into an Orange lodge, (the author has not attempted to verify the fact) tended to weaken the personal confidence of those, who considered all Orangemen indiscriminately bounden by ties and engagements adverse to the Catholic interests,

The verification of the fact of Lord Hardwicke's having been sworn into an Orange lodge in the year 1799, is not matter of mere curiosity. It is not to be presumed, that after he had published that prohibition to his regiment, over which alone he had controul, to become members of any such society, *formed for party and other mischievous purposes*, he himself should have

"interests, and who experimentally remarked the exclusive
 "preference and predilection of the members of that society
 "in the dispensation of grace and favor from the Castle."
 When the 2d edition of that Preface was in the press in Dublin, Mr. Alexander Marsden, the most confidential and active Secretary under Lord Hardwicke, delivered to the author's publisher a copy of the above regimental order, which he desired might be transmitted to him in London; but without message or comment. It was received, and inserted in the 2d edition, with some appropriate observations founded upon wishes almost amounting to conviction, that his Excellency never had been sworn into an Orange lodge. Having since that time gone through a laborious investigation of that whole system, the author now finds tenfold necessity for urging his concluding observation upon that regimental order, contained in the Dublin edition of his Posthumous Preface, published by Fitzpatrick, in 1804. "It is to be lamented, that when
 "this noble Colonel became the Chief Governor of Ireland,
 "some act of state was not passed for checking or breaking
 "up all those lodges or societies *formed for party and other*
 "*mischievous purposes*, the evil tendency of which his Lord-
 "ship once so clearly saw and prudently guarded his regi-
 "ment against."

have entered amongst them.* The knowledge of the mischievous nature and purposes of the Orange societies, produced that excellent order from Lord Hardwicke. Within two years from the date of it he was appointed Chief Governor of Ireland. Thenceforth every relation between him and the Orange societies altered. But the purposes of the societies were not changed. Nor did his Lordship's knowledge of those purposes cease. It would be irregular now to anticipate that noble lord's conduct, during an administration of five years; it will form the principal part of the ensuing volume. But from the time his Lordship enlisted himself in the service of Mr Addington, who entered into office under the avowed pledge of resisting Catholic claims, he was initiated into the use, which was to be made of these prætorian bands: he found that the

* After much enquiry the author has not ascertained the fact. Had not his Lordship been sworn in, some denial or disclaimer would probably have accompanied the copy of the regimental order, which appears to have been given with the direct view of negating that supposition. His Lordship having once dined at Mr. Beresford's riding-house by special invitation from all the Orange Lodges of Dublin, who collected there on that occasion, it was not unreasonable to presume him a member of their body. It is however no proof of his having been initiated. His Lordship's conduct, when at the head of the Government, furnished no grounds for counteracting that general presumption. But Orange secrecy baffles all enquiry.

the party and other mischievous purposes, for which those societies were formed, made the basis of that system, to the support of which he had lent his character and name. The conscious knowledge of the purposes, for which the Orange societies were formed, casts a peculiar shade upon every act of his government, by which the Orangemen were actively or passively affected. Be it generally observed, that during Lord Hardwicke's administration of five years, no vice-regal act was passed, which bore the most distant analogy to the regimental order of the 17th of April 1799.

Destructive and horrible as have been the enormities of Orangemen upon the nation since their institution, yet the evil of instituting the society, giving countenance to its progress, and indemnity to its outrages is far short of the mischief of keeping it on foot, and embodied under the protection and favor of government. Their former excesses were a temporary breach of internal peace and concord: their subsistence is a perpetuation of national rancor and disunion. The existence of such a body is incompatible with the welfare and prosperity of Ireland: and without the full and cordial energies of Ireland, the British empire cannot withstand the enemy. With the late political revolutions of empires the revolution in the mind of man

Evil of
keeping
Orangism
on foot.

R

has

has kept pace. In some instances it has improved. However civil freedom may have suffered, religious slavery and persecution have every where ceased to exist, except in this Protestant united kingdom. We have ever been shamefully tardy in following the most enlightened example, when it originated from the continent. After how many years of bigotted pertinacity did Lord Chesterfield shame us out of the stupidity of rejecting the Gregorian calendar, and adopting the New Style?

Mischief
of coun-
tenancing
known
evils.

That serious conviction of the national mischief of the Orange societies, which has brought forth this disquisition, necessary calls for the disclosure of some facts in illustration of the system carried on out of the intervening period between the rise of Orangism on the 21st of September 1795, and the commencement of the Union on the 1st of January 1801. The singular and astonishing circumstance of Lord Hardwicke's prohibiting 1000 men under his military and qualified command in 1799, to become members of any of those societies, which he knew and declared to be *formed for party and other mischievous purposes*, and his not forbidding nor preventing one out of five millions, over whom he soon after exercised sovereign command for five years, from becoming a member of those very societies, which during that period

period he cherished and kept embodied, forms a political problem, which it would be hardly safe to resolve.* Eleven years have elapsed, since Lord Hardwicke, as colonel of a militia regiment found it necessary, for the good of his Majesty's service, to publish the regimental order of the 17th of April 1799. During five of those years his lordship exercised by deputation the executive power of Government in Ireland, and Orangism was preserved and strengthened in spirit and numbers. At the close of the eleventh year from the issuing of that regimental order, a General commanding an important district in England finds it necessary for the good of the service, and the security of the state, to pronounce in general orders, a stronger condemnation of the Orange system in 1810, than Lord Hardwicke had in 1799. The reflecting reader will, with surprize, and not without horror and dismay, mark the identity of ground, the similarity of tendency, and the increased necessity of the latter order.

The

* The revolting depravities, which St. Paul so strongly depicted as objects of abhorrence and avoidance to Christians, in his Epistle to the Romans, were seen and perhaps practised by the Philosophic Bard, and other leading men of his day; but *Vide meliora proboque; deteriora sequor*. The decline and fall of Roman greatness rapidly followed.

General
Cock-
burne's
orders
against
Orang-
ism.

The 11th Infantry lately formed part of the brigade under the command of Major General Cockburne, then quartered at Chelmsford in Essex. That regiment had been lately recruited entirely from the Irish militia, of whom a large portion were Orangemen. Scarcely had they arrived, than they began to display, (as the North Cork had been taught by their Colonel) the inflammable *insignia* of their order Orange ribbands and emblems at their breasts; and as the North Cork did at Wexford, they attempted to form Orange lodges, and propagate their order in Essex.* The *party and other mischievous purposes* of these proceedings were not perceived

* In the sixth year of the Orange Dynasty one and indivisible, when Thomas Verner was Grand Master, and John Claudius Beresford Grand Secretary, the prospective views of the body at large, and the special mission of their individual dignitaries were enlarged to prepare the ways of peace and union over the whole face of the empire. Their zeal was to be no longer stinted to Ireland: but from the 10th of January 1800, (the memorable æra of the revision and ultimate settlement of their legislative code) it was to range over a wider field, as the blessed precursor and co-operator in the incorporation of the two kingdoms. It may accordingly be seen, that what General Cockburne has found necessary to resist in the year 1810, had been preordained ten years before by the inspired code of the Orange Institute. The 10th of their secret articles, having this extension of their societies in view, enacts, "that any Orangeman, who acts contrary to these" rules, shall be expelled, and the same reported to all the "lodges in the kingdom *and elsewhere*."

ceived by their British fellow-soldiers, to whom the principles and practices of the Orange Societies were yet unknown. The rancor and provocation manifested thereupon by such of the Irish recruits, as were not Orangemen, became alarming, and General Cockburne, whose head and heart do credit to his country, well knowing the fatal consequences of the encouragement given to the mischievous system of Orangism in his native land, issued the following

“ GENERAL ORDERS.

“ It is Major General Cockburne’s positive
 “ order, that no soldier in the garrison presume
 “ to wear any badge or mark of party. Com-
 “ manding officers of regiments, and all offi-
 “ cers are to confine any man, who dares to
 “ wear any ribband or emblem, which might
 “ create disputes amongst the men. Officers
 “ and soldiers are to wear their uniform in gar-
 “ rison strictly according to the King’s regula-
 “ tions. It must be evident, that this order ap-
 “ plies chiefly to the *Irish soldiers*. The mis-
 “ chief, which all such party divisions occasion
 “ to the State is unfortunately too severely felt
 “ in Ireland : nothing of the kind can be al-
 “ lowed of here. Soldiers have no concerns
 “ with

“ with such matters. They should serve his Majesty and their country *with unanimity*, which it is impossible for them to do, if a spirit of party be allowed in a battalion.”

Effects of
those or-
ders.

The pure loyalty, which dictated these orders to General Cockburne, in order to keep out the spirit of Orangism from his district, more than justifies the author's attempt, to expose its effects upon a population of five millions, whose peace and happiness it renders unattainable, and whose cordiality in defence of the empire it paralyzes or extinguishes. Whoever knows the situation of a mine, cannot *innocently* permit his friends without warning to expose themselves to the explosion.*

The

* Proof of Orange perseverance in persecuting an individual for 15 years demonstrates the enflamed continuance of that rancorous ferocity, in which the society was engendered, and which it can only lose with its existence. It has been before observed, that Mr Coile had been driven from Lurgan for having made a successful stand against some Orange Magistrates of Armagh; and that he fled to Dublin, whither persecution had followed him. Passing over for the present a variety of flagrant revenge exercised upon him by the Orange party during the space of time, which comprises the history of the ensuing volume, it is fitting to call the attention of the reader by anticipation to a recent document, which becomes important by exhibiting the unabated implacability of that party. In the *proceedings of the Trustees of the Linen and Hempen Manufactures of Ireland, from the 5th of July 1809,*

The great question of emancipating between Question four and five millions of his Majesty's subjects, of Catho- awaiting the deliberation of the Imperial Parlia- lic Eman- ment is not to be frittered into insignificancy, cipation. nor defeated by forced squabbings about royal *vetos*, bickerings upon accredited agency, or shiftings behind violated pledges and retracted errors. It is a question of truth and justice: they are invariable, and will ultimately prevail even against the intolerance of irreligious bigots in place, and the inveteracy of Orange executioners in their pay. Grattan still lives to pour in upon the Imperial Parliament that tor- rent

to the 5th of January 1810, (p. 77.) appears the following extract.

" At a meeting of the Trustees, &c. on Tuesday the 10th of October 1809.

" Right Hon. David La Touche in the Chair.

" Earl of Leitrim, Sir Neil O'Donnell, Bart.

" Lord Norbury, Richard Gervas Ker, Esq.

" A Memorial from Bernard Coile and William Galway Dixon, Linen Merchants, was presented and read, praying
" rooms in the Linen Hall to expose their linens for sale, as
" from the large consignments they have received, their house in
" Linenhall-street is totally inadequate to answer that pur-
" pose."

" Ordered,

" That said Memorial be rejected."

Vide note, p. 30.

rent of eloquence, which astonished and confounded the corrupted phalanx in the Irish Parliament in 1795. Great intermediate events have justified his words, and he is entirely devoted to co-operate with his country towards their accomplishment. " Go to France, (said he then, " and will again say) go to America, carry your " properties, manufactures and families to some " land, that may admit you to a freedom you " shall never participate in your own. This is a " sentence, that requires the malignity of a " demon, and the omnipotence of a God. You " are not competent to pronounce it. Believe " me, you may as well stamp your foot upon " the earth, and expect by that resistance to " stop the diurnal revolution, which advances " you to the morning sun, that is to shine alike " on the Catholic and the Protestant, as you " can hope to arrest the progress of the other " lights of justice and reason, which approach " to liberalize the Protestant and liberate the " Catholic. Even now the question is on its " way, and making its destined and irresistible " progress, which you with all your authority, " have no power to controul, any more than any " other great truth or ordinance of nature or " law of motion, which mankind is free to contemplate, but cannot counteract. Such is the " justice linked with their cause, and such is
" the

“ the strength, that sets forth their applica-
 “ tion.”

It would be foreign from the purpose of this dis- Insincerity of promises of emancipation.
 quisition to follow the manœuvres, by which Lord
 Cornwallis and his underling Lord Castlereagh
 accomplished the summit of Mr. Pitt's imme-
 diate ambition, the degradation and emascula-
 tion of Ireland by *legislative union*. When that
 object had been obtained by a *managed* majority
 of fifty-eight, Mr. Pitt and his colleagues slunk
 out of office to make room for those satellites in
 his train, who were ready to perpetrate the deed,
 from which the projector shrunk. They quitted
 office, leaving as their written pledge to the Ca-
 tholics purported, *many characters of eminence*
(including of course their own) pledged not to
embark in the service of Government, except on
the term of the Catholic privileges being obtained.
 Afterwards Mr. Pitt returned to office under a
 counter-pledge of never bringing forward, or
 supporting the Catholic claims : and Lord Corn-
 wallis accepted of the government of India, but
 never stood up in Parliament to enforce them.*

S

It

* The interesting transactions of the downfall of Mr. Pitt's
 administration will regularly occur in the ensuing history.
 They are here generally referred to, that the reader may
 not be left in total darkness, as to the denouement of that
 piece of politics, in which Mr. Pitt rested his reputation with
 posterity

Lord
Cornwal-
lis keeps
up the
Orange-
men.

It requires no great depth of reflection to perceive, that Lord Cornwallis by an external change of

posterity. In deference to his readers, the author here thinks it proper to repeat in print (Vide his Postiliminous Preface, p. 33.) that, " whilst he gave credit to his Majesty's ministers for sincerely following up the Union with all the advantages it was capable of, the primary object of his writing the *Historical Review of the State of Ireland*, was to convert the truth of Irish history into evidence of the utility and advantages of incorporate Union. It was but consistent, therefore, that the historian should, as far as truth would bear him out, commend the system of Lord Cornwallis's administration, which certainly became indirect censure upon the opposite system pursued by his predecessors." The author fairly owns, that up to the month of September 1804, at which time he had a conference with Mr. Addington on the subject, he gave Lord Cornwallis unreserved credit for having endeavoured sincerely to defeat and overturn the former system of governing Ireland, and substituting liberality and justice in lieu of intolerance and acerbity. He was further confirmed in those sentiments by a letter, which he had then recently received from the Marquis containing these words, *my sentiments with regard to Ireland are well known by the measures I pursued, and those which I recommended.* Since that time, he has from much research, experience and reflection been compelled to reject the measures of some public men, as a criterion of their *real* sentiments. Upon Mr. Addington's unexpected admission to place, he was for the first time initiated into the whole mystery of the preconcerted plan of promising and refusing emancipation to the Irish Catholics. Flushed with the novel consequence of office, he boasted of the real views of his predecessors, which had been so specially confided to him to carry into final effect.

He

of system had even before the close of the year 1798 not only put down the rebels, but curbed and tamed their more dangerous provokers the Orangemen. So far had he fulfilled his mission from Mr. Pitt to prepare the country for external union. The extension of the Orange system in Wexford, after the close of that insurrection, the encreased acerbity of the Orangemen throughout that county, and the general opposition, which he every where experienced from them to his measures of lenity and conciliation, must have

S 2

convinced

He had not yet completely fitted the glove of office to his hand. He was a new recruit, suddenly raised from the ranks, and spoke some truth. From that hour the author became truly sensible of his own want of *political sagacity*. Mr. Addington scouted the idea of any difference of principle or system in the two governments of Earl Camden and Marquis Cornwallis. It was an identity of spirit and principle, applicable to the varying circumstances of a rising, raging and expiring rebellion. Mr. Addington very significantly assured the author, that he (the author) knew not the grounds, views or motives of Lord Cornwallis's administration. For the sake of poor, baffled and persecuted Ireland, the author laments the truth then uttered. At the same interview Mr. Addington assumed official merit for standing in that house (in Downing-street) by his *pledged resistance to the Catholic claims, from which he was never to be moved*. Ireland will not be insensible to the difference of Lord Grenville's conduct from that of his colleague. His Lordship refused to return to power with Mr. Pitt, and spurned with indignation the proffered pledge to hold place on the tenure of keeping back and resisting a measure supereminently necessary to the preservation of the empire.

convinced his mind, that their subsistence as a body was utterly inconsistent with the internal union and permanent security of the kingdom. With more ease might they have been then collectively extinguished, than individually restrained from outrage. They were known to be united by secret and unlawful oaths; and their conduct had been notoriously atrocious. Had government sincerely wished internal and permanent concord, they would have so completely eradicated the plants of discord, as not to leave a chance for the hope of rescuscitation. They kept on foot the Society of Orangemen as a *corps de reserve*, and constituted them a body guard to the Irish party, which under the religious cant of *Protestant ascendancy*, stipulated for the continuance of their own monopoly of civil power. From that moment, the insidious, specious and equivocal term *Protestant ascendancy*, was formally adopted, and became the rallying phrase and signal for calling together all Orange Protestants, and many, who would have opposed it, had it been denominated by its true appellation of an *Irish oligarchy under British ascendancy*.

Import of the term *Protestant ascendancy*. It falls not within the province of the historian to discuss philologically the import of terms and phrases. He considers them to bear the meaning

meaning and purport, which obviously direct the views and motives of the generality of mankind in acting upon them. The phrase *Protestant ascendancy* is *ex vi termini* open to an indefinite variety of interpretation. For the last fifteen years and upwards it has received a specific and appropriate import, in the acceptance of which every part of the nation has acquiesced. From the acts themselves, not from the explanations, palliatives or justifications of the actors is the judgment to be formed. From the time that Ireland acquired legislative independence in 1782, it ceased to be the language of the Castle, that the *English interest or ascendancy* was to be kept up. The power was to be supported, but the term was to be altered. Instead of *English*, the more imposing word *Protestant* was annexed to that ascendancy, which was actually kept on foot. When Mr Pitt had contrived to dash from the lips of the nation the cup of promised and expected freedom, by betraying and deceiving the virtuous Fitzwilliam with the intrigues of Mr. Beresford he set up the golden image of *Protestant ascendancy*, and * “ sent to
 “ gather together the princes and governors, the
 “ captains, the judges, the treasurers, the coun-
 “ sellors, the sheriffs, and all the rulers of the pro-
 “ vinces, to come to the dedication of the image,
 “ which Nebuchadnezzar the King had set up.”

And

* Dan. iii. 2.

And they fell down and worshipped the golden image." However the phrase may from that hour have been understood by individuals, it was exclusively acted upon in the sense of direct opposition to Catholic concsion. This appears evident from the address of the Grand Lodge to the Orangemen of Ireland, on the 21st of January 1800, precisely ten days after they had made their resolution to support the *Protestant ascendancy* (in this particular sense) the basis of their obligation, the link of their secrecy and the measure of their allegiance. In the minds of upright and unsuspecting Protestants, the support of the *Protestant ascendancy* would mean no more than to support the limitation of the Crown under the act of Settlement; which is expressed in the most pointed manner in the oath of allegiance taken by Catholics, as well as by Protestants. In the affectation of this ordinary and obvious sense of loyalty do these renovated and reformed Orangemen hold themselves out to the nation as being associated to support and defend his Majesty King George, the constitution and laws of the country, and succession to the throne in his Majesty's illustrious house, being Protestants. To do this most Catholics had sworn, and every one was ready to swear, nearly in the words of this Orange declaration. It is scarcely necessary to remark, that whenever specific duties and sentiments

ments are introduced into oaths, they are expressed in the most obvious, precise and unambiguous words. Who would not expect from men voluntarily and solemnly laying before their countrymen the object of their associating in so awful a juncture, that their obligation and oath should be commensurate with, and conducive to the ends of their association. How do they tally? No Catholic would refuse to submit or swear to the substance of that declaration. Most of them have actually done so. But the obligation of an Orangeman runs in these words: *I, A. B. do solemnly and sincerely swear, of my own free will and accord, that I will to the utmost of my power support and defend the present King George the Third, his heirs and successors, as long as he and they support the Protestant ascendancy, &c.** Here is an absolute declaration redundantly vaunting sworn and known duties, of which no man can doubt, and which no man refuses. There is a conditional oath to support what no ten men may define alike, and stinting the allegiance of the subject to his own arbitrary construction of the term *Protestant ascendancy*. In the common acceptation of words, what man of sense would, what man of loyalty could subscribe such oath and obligation?

The

* Rules and regulations *postea*.

Efforts to
forward
the
Union.

The whole of the year 1799 was consumed by Mr. Pitt and Lord Cornwallis, in preparing, canvassing and courting for the Union. In and out of parliament, addresses, petitions, motions and proposals were made to forward and ensure that measure. No means were omitted, which were calculated to advance it from any quarter. Personal applications were made by the Lord Lieutenant in a viceregal tour through the kingdom to such members of parliament and persons of influence in the country, as he thought open. The amiable qualities and delusive pledges of the viceroy gained him more proselytes, than he had anticipated. To the Catholics he held out emancipation as the sure boon of their support. They trusted him, and he failed. To the Orangemen he pledged amnesty and favour. They mistrusted him, and were preserved for future services. Even then was it doomed by Mr. Pitt,* that the question

* Conscious that some staunch friends to Ireland give Mr. Pitt credit for sincerity in all his declarations and pledges about her, and his real earnestness and inability to carry the question of emancipation, it becomes a painful duty to submit to the reader the grounds for differing from that opinion. Against Mr. Pitt's actual resignation of office on that alledged ground, must be placed his return to office under a counter pledge, to hold back and resist the question, as he notoriously did, when brought forward by his colleague
Lord

tion of Catholic emancipation was to be brought forward and crushed by the *Protestant ascendancy*

T

Lord Grenville. Mr. Pitt had long felt himself absolute master of the *Protestant ascendancy*. In 1792 he received an holocaust to its omnipotence, when not a member of the Commons dared to stand up in his place to support the Catholic petition. But few months passed away, and the golden object of adoration was cast prostrate at the feet of that very Parliament, which now had it in command from the British minister, to grant the whole of what he had just forbidden them to listen to. Mr. Pitt might then have as easily carried the complete emancipation, as that portion of it, which was actually conceded. He held back enough to keep the *Protestant ascendancy* and the *Catholics* in his dependance. He had further views: and all was to be subservient to the Union. Had he not raised the Catholics into some political consequence by the act of 1793, their support of it would have been worthless. But his concession of so much commanded the unreserved support of those, who trusted in his promises and pledges, that the whole should follow. The next year Mr. Pitt was made sensible, that Catholic influence became national strength: he foresaw in the growth of internal concord the inevitable defeat of his favourite plan of external union. He was incensed at the loss of the *equilibrium*, which he fancied he had secured: so rapid had been the descent of the *Protestant ascendancy*, since national harmony had begun to displace religious discord. The Catholic influence was to be lowered by fresh triumphs of the *Protestant ascendancy*. The Catholics were to be raised to the summit of expectation, in order to be let down with violence, and weakened to impotency by the fall. The *Protestant ascendancy* was to be taken up from its late prostration by a renewed commission to divide, irritate and degrade.

Legislative

dancy, whose management for a time he had ostensibly renounced.

The

Legislative Union could not be forced upon Ireland in health, vigour and harmony. It could only be imposed upon her, in the fatal hour of exhaustion, debility and discord. The power and influence, which Mr. Pitt possessed (especially by the coalition of the Whig party in England) in 1794 and 1795 gave him more facilities to carry the whole question at that time, than he commanded of passing the previous concessions in 1793. It is impossible, that the mind of Mr. Pitt should not have been equally open to the merits of the question, in the years 1795, 1799 and 1801. Had it been acceded to in 1795, it would have prevented a rebellion; in 1799 it would have enabled Ireland to resist external Union; and in 1801 it would have preserved the country from the still unmeasured evil of ministers successively pledged by official tenure to thwart her wishes, damp her energies, and perpetuate her proscription. Without fathoming private motives, historical evidence demonstrates, that Mr. Pitt as fully knew the fate of the Catholic question in 1800, when by the delusive prospect of its success he cajoled the Catholic into a support of the Union, as he did in 1801, when, by anticipating its failure, he took that pretext for retiring from office. It can never be forgotten, that in the papers written by Mr. Pitt and Lord Cornwallis given by the latter to Dr. Troy and Lord Fingall on the same day, Mr. Pitt assured the Catholics, *that he would do his utmost to establish their cause in the public, and prepare the way for their finally attaining their objects. And Lord Cornwallis reminded them to be sensible of the benefit they possess, by having so many characters of eminence pledged not to embark in the service of government, except on the terms of the Catholic privileges being obtained.*

They both did embark in the service of government, and the Catholic privileges have not been obtained. Mr. Pitt, as the

The generality of Orangemen were individually adverse to the Union. They foresaw in the absorption of their country's power the final extinction of that very monopoly, by which they subsisted. The Lord Lieutenant having successfully treated with Lord Clare and Mr. Beresford, found himself strong enough to resist the exorbitant demands of Mr. Foster, and bad defiance to his powerful opposition to the measure of Union. The Orangemen came to an understanding with the Chief Governor, that provided they were formally permitted to make *Protestant ascendancy* (in other words, future resistance to Catholic concession) not only the bond and ostensible test of their union, but the condition and measure of their allegiance, they would abstain, as a body, from opposing the Union, and so model and moderate the rules and regulations of their Society, that no upright Protestant should in future be shocked with the oath of extermination, or deterred from entering into their Society by any pledge, obligation or oath unpalatable to the most tender Protestant conscience. In pursuance of this understanding, the following advertisement appeared in all the public prints.

Orange-
men na-
turally
against
Union.

T 2

GRAND

the first minister of the Crown opposed them when brought forward. Lord Cornwallis never once stood up to support them.

Orange
advertise-
ment not
to inter-
fere with
Union.

GRAND LODGE.

To the Orangemen of Ireland.

Dublin, Jan. 21, 1800.

The Grand Lodge of Ireland observe with heartfelt satisfaction, that their former recommendation to their brethren to abstain, as Orangemen, from any discussion of the question of Union has had the happiest effects, in as much as it has disappointed the sanguine and malignant hopes entertained by the enemies to religion and good order, that such discussion would be productive of discord amongst Orangemen. They now feel it their duty to offer some further observations on the present juncture of affairs.

Orangemen in different capacities, as Members of Parliament, Grand Jurors, Freeholders and Members of Corporate Bodies, have opportunities of debating the important question of an Union. But it is the earnest entreaty of the Grand Lodge, that as a Society, they will continue silent. For as every Orangeman, however zealous, may, and no doubt will from local circumstances conceive different ideas of the subject, the discussion of a question of such magnitude

magnitude involving not only great imperial topics, but also matters of local advantage and local disadvantage must unavoidably create a division in opinion, *and an house divided against itself cannot stand*. It is therefore recommended to all Orangemen to keep in mind the great object, for which they have associated, to wit.

“ We associate to the utmost of our power to
 “ support and defend his Majesty King George
 “ the Third, the constitution and laws of this
 “ country, and the succession to the throne in
 “ his Majesty’s illustrious house being Protes-
 “ tants, for the defence of our persons and pro-
 “ perties, and to maintain the peace of our coun-
 “ try : and for these purposes we will be at all
 “ times ready to assist the civil and military
 “ powers, in the just and lawful discharge of
 “ their duty,” and to avoid as injurious to the
 institution all controversy upon subjects not
 connected with our principles.

THOMAS VERNER, Grand Master.

JOHN C. BERESFORD, Grand Sec.

Shortly before this time the Orangemen, then Newrules
 organized into a very numerous Society, had re- and regu-
 vised their statutes and ordinances, and reduced lations of
 them into a more plausible and more insidious form. the Socie-
 As secrecy however was the soul of their institu- ty of
 tion, Orange-
 men.

tion, these new rules and regulations, by which the Society has from that time been governed, though printed, were most cautiously kept from the unhallowed eye of their proscribed neighbours. As the subsistence of this Society appears to be an irremovable obstacle to the permanent peace and prosperity of Ireland, we have found it a duty of allegiance to place before the eyes of government and the public a full and authentic copy of those rules and regulations, by reference to which the foregoing details will be fairly considered and finally and impartially judged of.

Conclu-
sive ob-
serva-
tion.

One observation occurs upon the following rules and regulations, which without further comment we recommend to the sympathetic reflection of the reader; more particularly so, should these sheets chance to fall under the eye of any gentleman, on whom rests a public duty to watch and preserve the tranquillity and welfare of the country.

As the Orangeman's oath is expressed and administered, it is at common law unlawful, illegal, and even treasonable, and by an existing Statute felonious. The Author therefore challenges every loyal subject, who by having taken it, or otherwise has obtained more certain knowledge, than he has, of the *party and other mischievous purposes* of their oath and association to come forward

ward and help to the extinction of that *traitorous conspiracy*, which binds its members to a system essentially destructive * of the loyalty, peace, concord, prosperity, and stability of the country.

* That the factitious spirit of Orangism still subsists under the affected discouragement and real protection of government, is evident from what passed within these last three weeks, viz. on the 23d of March, at the Omagh Assizes. Thomas Hogan, a corporal of the King's County Militia, was indicted for the murder of four Orange yeomen. He was acquitted of the murder, and, by the direction of the judge, Mr. Serjeant Moore, found guilty of manslaughter. About 300 Orange yeomen had assembled, armed and accoutred at Omagh, to commemorate the battle of Aughrim, on the 12th of last August. On the same day, 50 of the King's County Militia, who had volunteered for the army, marched into Omagh unarmed from Strabane. Fifty of their comrades had for some time occupied the barracks in Omagh. One of the volunteers was insulted by the Yeomen's forcing off, and trampling upon his cap, because it was bound with *green* tape, which, though regimental, was termed a rebellious colour by the Orangemen. Much abuse, and a general attack of the unarmed volunteers by the dastardly and overbearing Orangemen ensued. The volunteers retreated to the barracks, and there with their comrades in defending themselves, shot the four yeomen, for which their corporal was indicted. When it shall please his Majesty to shake off the chains from Ireland, and bless her with a governor of sufficient wisdom and virtue to root up and utterly dissolve the Orange Societies, then, and then only, may she congratulate with herself on being released from captivity and fetters. "Now I know of a surety, that the Lord hath sent his angel, and hath delivered me out of the hand of Herod, and from all the expectation of the people of the Jews." *Acts*. xii. 11.

The Work in hand, to which this discussion is the introduction, is intended to be comprized in one volume *in Octavo*, to be a sequel to *The History of Ireland, from its Invasion under Henry II. to its Union with Great Britain*, by the Author, in two volumes. The communication of any important and well authenticated document relating to the recent History of Ireland, made to Mr. Coyne, Capel-street, Dublin, will be received with gratitude, and used with fidelity by the Author.

RULES

RULES AND REGULATIONS

FOR THE USE OF ALL

ORANGE SOCIETIES:

REVISED AND CORRECTED BY A COMMITTEE OF THE

GRAND ORANGE LODGE OF IRELAND.

AND ADOPTED BY THE GRAND ORANGE LODGE, JAN. 10, 1800.



DUBLIN:

PRINTED BY AN ORANGEMAN.



1800.



*General declaration of the objects of the Orange
Institution.*

WE associate, to the utmost of our Power, to support and defend his Majesty, King George the Third, the Constitution and Laws of this country, and the Succession to the Throne in his Majesty's illustrious House, being Protestants: for the defence of our persons and properties; and to maintain the peace of the country; and for these purposes we will be at all times ready to assist the Civil and Military Powers, in the just and lawful discharge of their duty. We also associate in Honour of King William the Third, Prince of Orange, whose
Name

name we bear, as supporters of his glorious Memory, and the true Religion by him completely established in these Kingdoms. And, in order to prove our gratitude and affection for his Name, we will annually celebrate the Victory over James at the Boyne, on the first day of July O. S. in every year, which day shall be our grand ~~Era~~ Era for ever.

We further declare that we are exclusively a Protestant Association; yet, detesting as we do any intolerant spirit, we solemnly pledge ourselves to each other, that we will not persecute, injure, or upbraid any person on account of his religious Opinions, provided the same be not hostile to the State; but that we will on the contrary, be aiding, and assisting to every loyal subject of every religious description, in protecting him from violence and oppression.

Qualifications requisite for an Orangeman.

He should have a sincere Love and Veneration for his Almighty Maker, productive of those lively and happy Fruits, Righteousness, and Obedience to his Commands; a firm and stedfast Faith in the Saviour of the World; convinced that he is the only Mediator between a sinful Creature, and an offended Creator. Without these he cannot be a Christian; of an humane and compassionate disposition; and a courteous and affable behaviour. He should be an utter enemy to savage brutality, and unchristian cruelty; a lover of society, and improving company; and have a laudable regard for the Protestant Religion, and a sincere desire to propagate its Precepts; zealous in promoting the honor, happiness, and prosperity of his King and Country; heartily desirous of victory and success in those pursuits, yet convinced and assured, that God alone can grant them. He should have an hatred of cursing and swearing, and taking the name of God in vain, (a shameful practice;) and he should use all opportunities of
discovering

discovering it among his Brethren. Wisdom and Prudence should guide his actions; honesty and integrity direct his conduct, and honour, and glory of his King and Country, be the motives of his endeavours. Lastly, he should pay the strictest attention to a religious observance of the Sabbath; and also to temperance, and sobriety.

Obligation of an Orangeman.

I. A. B. do solemnly and sincerely swear, of my own free will and accord, that I will, to the utmost of my power, support and defend the present King, George the Third, his Heirs and Successors, so long as he or they support the Protestant Ascendancy, the Constitutions and Laws of these Kingdoms; and that I will ever hold sacred the name of our Glorious Deliverer, William the Third, Prince of Orange: and I do further swear, that I am not, nor ever was a Roman Catholic, or Papist; that I was not, am not, nor ever will be an United Irishman; and that I never took the Oath of secrecy to that, or any other Treasonable Society: and I do further swear, in the presence of Almighty God, that I will always conceal, and never will reveal, either part or parts of what is now to be privately communicated to me, until I shall be authorised so to do by the proper authorities of the Orange Institution; that I will neither write it, nor indite it, stamp, stain, or engrave it, nor cause it so to be done, on paper, parchment, leaf, bark, stick, stone, or any thing, so that it may be known; and I do further swear, that I have not, to my knowledge or belief, been proposed and rejected in, or expelled from any other Orange Lodge; and that I now become an Orangeman without fear, bribery, or corruption.

SO HELP ME GOD.

Secret Articles.

1st. That we will bear true allegiance to his Majesty, King George the Third, his Heirs and Successors, so long as he or they

they support the Protestant Ascendancy ; and that we will faithfully support and maintain the Laws and Constitution of these Kingdoms.

2nd. That we will be true to all Orangemen in all just actions, neither wronging one, nor seeing him wronged to our knowledge, without acquainting him thereof.

3d. That we are not to see a Brother offended for sixpence, or one shilling, or more, if convenient, which must be returned next meeting if possible.

4th. We must not give the first assault to any person whatever, that may bring a Brother into trouble.

5th. We are not to carry away money, goods, or any thing from any person whatever, except arms and ammunition, and those only from an enemy.

6th. We are to appear in ten hours warning, or whatever time is required, if possible (provided it is not hurtful to ourselves or families, and that we are served with a lawful summons from the Master,) otherwise we are fined as the company think proper.

7th. No man can be made an Orangeman without the unanimous approbation of the body.

8th. An Orangeman is to keep a Brother's secrets as his own, unless in case of Murder, Treason, and Perjury ; and that of his own free will.

9th. No Roman Catholic can be admitted on any account.

10th. Any Orangeman, who acts contrary to these Rules, shall be expelled, and the same reported to all the Lodges in the Kingdom and elsewhere.

GOD SAVE THE KING.

Marksman's

Marksman's Obligation.

I, A. B. of my own free will and accord, in the Presence of Almighty God, do hereby most solemnly and sincerely Swear, that I will always conceal, and never will reveal either part or parts of what is now to be privately communicated to me, until I shall be duly authorised so to do by the proper authority of the Orange Institution; and that I will bear true allegiance to his Majesty, King George the Third, his Heirs and Successors, so long as he or they maintain the Protestant Ascendancy, the Constitution and Laws of these Kingdoms; and that I will keep this part of a Marksman from an Orangeman, as well as from the ignorant; and that I will not make a Man, until I become, and only whilst I shall be Master of an Orange Lodge; and that I will not make a Man, or be present at the making of a Man on the Road, or behind Hedges; and that I will be aiding and assisting to all true honest Orange Marksmen, as far as in my power lies, knowing him or them to be such; and that I will not wrong a Brother Marksman, or know him to be wronged of any thing of value, worth apprehending, but I will warn or apprize him thereof, if in my power it lies. All this I swear, with a firm resolution; So help me God, and keep me stedfast in this my Marksman's obligation.

General Rules for the Government of Orange Lodges.

1st. That every Member of the Orange Institution, should undergo a new Election, whenever the Grand Lodge may think it expedient.

2nd. That each Lodge now existing, shall, on such occasion, elect by ballot five of its Members, that those five Members shall then proceed to re-admit, or reject the remaining Members
of

of such Lodge; and that each Member, as he shall be so re-admitted, shall become qualified to proceed with the said five original Members to the further re-election of others: but that, in the event of any Person's being discontinued as a Member of this Lodge, or wishing to become a member of another, he cannot be ballotted for in any other, without producing to the committee of such Lodge, a Certificate from his former Lodge, specifying the cause of such change; and that he is a fit and proper Person to be admitted, or continued an Orangeman.

3d. That each Lodge shall have a Master and Deputy Master, a Secretary and Deputy Secretary, and Treasurer, and five Committee Men; the Master to be appointed by the Lodge; the Deputy Master, Secretary, Deputy Secretary, and Treasurer, by the Master, with the approbation of his own Lodge; and the first Committee-man by the Master; the second by the first; and so on until the number of five be completed:—the Election to each of those Offices to take place on the first day of June, for one year from the first day of July; which Election, and every other Change or Alteration that may take place, shall be forthwith certified to the Grand Master of the County, or City, to be by him forwarded to the Grand Lodge.

4th. The Master, Deputy Master, Secretary, Deputy Secretary, Treasurer, and the five Committee Men, upon their appointment, shall take the following Obligations:

M.; D.; M.; S.; T.; and C. Mens' Obligation.

I, A. B. do solemnly and sincerely Swear, that I was not, nor am not a Roman Catholic or Papist; that I was not, am not, nor ever will be an United Irishman; and that I never took the Oath of Secresy to that, or any other Treasonable Society.

For

For the Master, and Deputy Master, add

That I am not now made a Master for any private Emolument, or Advantage; that I have not a Sitting in my House for the purpose of selling Beer, Spirits, or any other Liquor; that I will not knowingly admit, or consent any person for me shall admit any one into the Society of Orangemen, who was, or is a Papist, or has been an United Irishman, or has taken their Oath of Secresy: that I will use my authority to keep proper Behaviour and Sobriety in this Lodge; and that I will not Certify for any person, without having first proved him, and being satisfied in my conscience that he is a person of good character.

SO HELP ME GOD.

For the Secretary and Deputy Secretary, add

And that I will, to the utmost of my power, keep safe the Papers belonging to the Lodge; and that I will not give any copy of the Secret Articles, or lend them to make an Orangeman out of the Lodge I belong to; or lend the Seal, so that it may be affixed to any forged paper, or irregular Orangeman's Certificate.

For the Treasurer, add

And that I will fairly account for all money I have, or may receive for the use of this Lodge, when called upon by the Master of this Lodge.

SO HELP ME GOD.

For the Committee Men, add

And that whenever I may be called upon to act in the absence of the Master and Deputy Master, I will not knowingly

ingly admit any one into the Society of Orangemen, who was, or is a Papist, or has been an United Irishman; or has taken their Oath of Secrecy; and that I will use my authority to keep proper behaviour and sobriety in this Lodge.

SO HELP ME GOD.

5th. That the affairs of each Lodge be conducted by the Master, Deputy Master, Secretary, Deputy Secretary, Treasurer, and the five Committee Men.

6th. That in the absence of the Master, the Deputy Master shall preside, and, in his absence, the senior Committee Man, who shall be present; but that no other person whatever shall have the power of making an Orangeman.

7th. That each Candidate for admission, shall in future be certified to be eighteen years of age; and that he shall be proposed by one, and seconded by another member at one meeting; and admitted, or rejected at a subsequent one: but no ballot can take place, unless the person proposing, or seconding, be present.

8th. That one negative shall exclude.

9th. That any person, wishing to become an Orangeman, must be admitted in the Lodge nearest his place of abode (except in cities or great towns,) or have a recommendation from that Lodge, that he is a proper person, before any other Lodge can accept him.

10th. That the names of persons withdrawn and rejected in, or expelled from any Lodge, shall be forthwith sent by the Masters, or Secretary, to the District Master, with the objections to such persons; in order that the District Master may communicate the same to other Lodges; as those, who are unfit for one Lodge, must be so for every other.

11th. That each Member on admission, shall pay —.

12th. That

12th. That Masters of Lodges do make returns to their District Masters, of the number, names and places of abode of the Members of their respective Lodges every six months.

13th. That in order to establish a fund to defray the various and necessary expences of the Grand Lodge, in all Lodges one fifth of the sum be paid by members on their first admission shall be continued to be paid annually, by half-yearly payments, that is, on every first day of May and every first day of November, to the Treasurer of their respective Lodges; who shall hand over the amount to the District Master, to be by him remitted, through the Grand Master of the County or City, to the Grand Treasurer of Ireland: the Treasurer of each Lodge to be accountable according to the return made previous to the days above specified.

14th. That, as Regiments are considered as Districts, the Masters of all Regimental Lodges do make half-yearly returns of the number, names and rank of the Members of their Lodges to the Secretary of the Grand Lodge; but that they shall not make an Orangeman, except the Officers, Non-commissioned Officers and Privates of their respective Regiments; and that they do remit to the Grand Treasurer of Ireland the half-yearly subscription, as well as that, which is immediately to take place.

15th. That no Visitor shall be admitted into any Lodge, unless introduced by a Member; and that new Members shall not be initiated in the presence of any Visitors, save Masters and Deputy Masters.

16th. That no Master shall initiate any Orangeman into the Purple Order, who does not belong to his Lodge, or without a written recommendation from the Master of the Lodge, to which such Orangeman may belong: and that no Member can, on any account, be raised to the dignity of the Purple

B

Order,

Order, who has not been an Orangeman for twelve months at least, and has attended eight monthly meetings during that period; save in the instance of a Member, who has been elected to the Office of Master, Deputy Master, Secretary, Deputy Secretary, Treasurer, or Committee Man.

17th. All Members to be subordinate to the Master, or Person presiding for him, who shall have full power of fining all disorderly persons to an amount not exceeding —.

18th. Any dispute arising, not provided for by the rules, is to be decided by the Officers of the Lodge; and the parties must abide by their decision, on pain of expulsion, saving the right of appeal in all such cases to the Grand Lodge.

19th. That each new resolution shall remain on the books from one meeting to the subsequent one, previously to its being adopted or rejected by the majority of the Lodge then present.

20th. That no Election or other business do take place, unless ten Members at least be present, provided the Lodge consist of so many: if it do not, then two-thirds of the Members must be present.

21st. That no business be done in any Lodge after dinner, supper, or drink have been brought in; but every motion shall be previously decided.

22nd. No person attending intoxicated can be initiated at that meeting: any old Member so attending shall be fined.

23d. The Secretary is to read out, before the books are closed, the names of persons proposed for the next night.

24th. A person is to attend on the outside of the door, while business is going on: that person to be nominated by the Master, or whoever may preside at the time.

Order.

Order of Business for each Night.

1st. Lodge to open with a Prayer (Members standing.) 2nd. General Rules read. 3d. Members proposed. 4th. Report from Committee. 5th. Names of Members called over. 6th. Members ballotted for. 7th. Members made. 8th. Lodge to close with a Prayer, (Members standing.)

Rules for the Formation of Districts, &c. &c.

1st. That Masters of Counties, and Cities do divide their respective Counties, and Cities into Districts, according to local circumstances: not more than five Lodges to constitute a District, unless they may see reason to extend the number. The Masters of Lodges, so forming a District, to elect a Master for that District. Should the choice of a District Master fall on any private Member of a Lodge within the District; that then such Person shall cease to be a private Member of that Lodge, so long as he shall continue in such Office.

2nd. That during the absence, suspension, or non-election of a District Master, the senior Master in the District, shall act for the time; the seniority to be determined by the number of the Lodge, to which the Master may belong.

3rd. That the Election to the Office of District-Master shall take place on the first day of June, for one year to the first day of July.

4th. That District-Masters shall make returns of the number of Names, and Places of Abode of the Members of the different Lodges within their respective Districts, to the Grand Master of their County, or City every six Months.

Regulations

*Regulations for the Appointment of Grand Masters,
Deputy Grand Masters of Counties, and Cities.*

1st, That a Grand Master for each County, and City shall be chosen by the District-Masters of such County and City, and a Deputy Grand Master by the Grand Master; both subject to the approval of the Grand Lodge. Should the choice of a Grand Master, or a Deputy Grand Master of a County, or City, fall on any private Member of a Lodge within the County or City, of which he is chosen Grand Master, or Deputy Grand Master, that then such person shall cease to be a private Member of that Lodge, so long as he shall continue in such Office.

2nd, That the Grand Masters, and Deputy Grand Masters of Counties, and Cities shall be Elected on the first day of July in every year,

3rd, That in any County, or City, in which there shall be less than three Districts, the senior District-Master shall, with the approbation of the Grand Lodge, act as Grand Master for that County, or City,

4th, That during the absence, suspension, or non-election of a Grand Master of a County or City, the Deputy Grand Master shall act; and, should the Grand Master, and Deputy Grand Master be absent at the same time, or in case both Offices should be vacant, then, the senior District Master: the seniority, in all such cases, to be determined by the number of the Lodge, to which such District Master may belong.

5th, That Grand Masters of Counties, and Cities, do forward to the Secretary of the Grand Lodge, every six months, such Returns, as shall be made to them by their District-Masters, of the Number, Names, and Places of Abode, of the Members of the different Lodges, within their respective Counties

Counties, and Cities : and that they do remit to the Grand Treasurer of Ireland the half yearly Subscription from such Lodges, as well as that, which is immediately to take place.

Rules for the Formation of the Grand Lodge.

1st, That the Grand Lodge shall be formed anew.

2nd, That the Grand Lodge shall consist of Grand Masters of Counties, and Cities, their Deputies, District Masters, Masters of Lodges, and in their absence, Deputy Masters of Lodges: from amongst whom shall be chosen a Grand Master for Ireland, a Grand Secretary, and a Grand Treasurer: the Election to each of these Offices to take place on the first day of July, O. S. in every Year.

3rd, That all Authority necessary for the Advancement, and Welfare of the Orange Institution, shall be vested in the Grand Lodge.

4th, That the Grand Lodge do meet in the Metropolis four times in each year, for the general Government of the Orange Societies; to wit, on the seventh day of February, the seventh day of May, the seventh day of August, and the seventh day of November; and that the Committee do lay before them, at such Quarterly Meetings, a Report of their Proceedings, for the approbation of the Grand Lodge.

5th, That the ordinary business of the Orange system be transacted by a Standing Committee, to consist of such Members of the Grand Lodge as may be in Dublin; and to which the Grand Lodge shall have the Power of calling in the aid of men of known Zeal and Talents, not to exceed twenty one, to be selected by them from the Purple Order: such persons from the time of their being so chosen, to be considered as Members of the Grand Lodge. Provided always that such Committee shall only exist until the 7th day of August next ensuing, the day of their being appointed, or chosen.

6th. That

6th, That in every meeting of such Committee, in the absence of the Grand Master, the senior Member who shall be present, shall act as Chairman of that Meeting; the Seniority to be determined by the Number of the Lodge, to which such Member may belong; and that seven shall be a Quorum.

7th, That the Secretary to the Grand Lodge shall be Secretary to this Committee.

8th, That as the Office of Secretary to the Grand Lodge is attended with great Expence; and requires constant Labour, and Attendance: therefore, it is expedient, that all the Expenses incurred in the execution of that Office, shall be defrayed by the Grand Lodge; and that the person, filling it, shall be allowed an adequate Compensation for his Trouble, and Attendance, which shall be paid one Quarter in Advance.

Prayer for opening the Lodge.

Gracious and Almighty God, who in all ages hast shewn thy mighty power in protecting righteous Kings and States, we yield thee hearty Thanks for so miraculously bringing to light, and frustrating the secret and horrible designs of our enemies, plotted and intended to have been executed against our Gracious King, our happy Constitution, and the true religion established by our Glorious Deliverer, William the Third Prince of Orange.

Vouchsafe, O Lord, to continue unto us thine Almighty protection, grant to our pious King, long Life, Health and Prosperity; let thy Providence guard our happy Constitution, and enable us to transmit it to our latest Posterity, unimpaired, and improved by our Holy Religion. Bless, we beseech thee, every Member of the Orange Institution, with Charity, Brotherly Love, and Loyalty: make us truly respectable

ble here on Earth, and eternally happy hereafter. These and all other blessings, we beg in the Name, and through the mediation of Jesus Christ our Lord and Saviour. *Amen.*

OR THIS:

Almighty God, and Heavenly Father, who in all ages has shewed thy Power and Mercy, in graciously and miraculously delivering thy Church, and in protecting righteous and religious Kings and States from the wicked Conspiracies, and malicious Practices of all the Enemies thereof; we yield thee hearty thanks for so wonderfully discovering and confounding the horrible and wicked designs of our Enemies, plotted and intended to have been executed against our most Gracious Sovereign Lord King George, and the whole estates of the realm, for the subversion of Government and established Religion. Be thou, O Lord, still our Mighty Protector, and scatter our Enemies that delight in blood; infatuate and defeat their Councils, abate their Pride, assuage their Malice, and confound their Devices. Strengthen the hands of our Gracious Sovereign, and all that are in authority under him, with judgment and justice, to suppress and punish all such workers of iniquity, as turn Religion into Rebellion, and Faith into Faction, that they may never prevail in the ruin of thy Church amongst us; but that our Gracious Sovereign, and his Realms being preserved in thy true Religion, and by thy merciful goodness, protected in the same, we may all duly serve thee with praise and thanksgiving. And we beseech thee to protect the King, Queen and Royal Family, from all Treasons and Conspiracies; preserve him in thy Faith, Fear, and Love; make his Reign long, prosperous and happy here on Earth, and crown him hereafter with everlasting Glory. Accept also, most Gracious God, our unfeigned Thanks, for filling our Hearts with joy and gladness, by sending thy Servant, the late King William, for the deliverance of these Nations from Tyranny and arbitrary Power.

Let

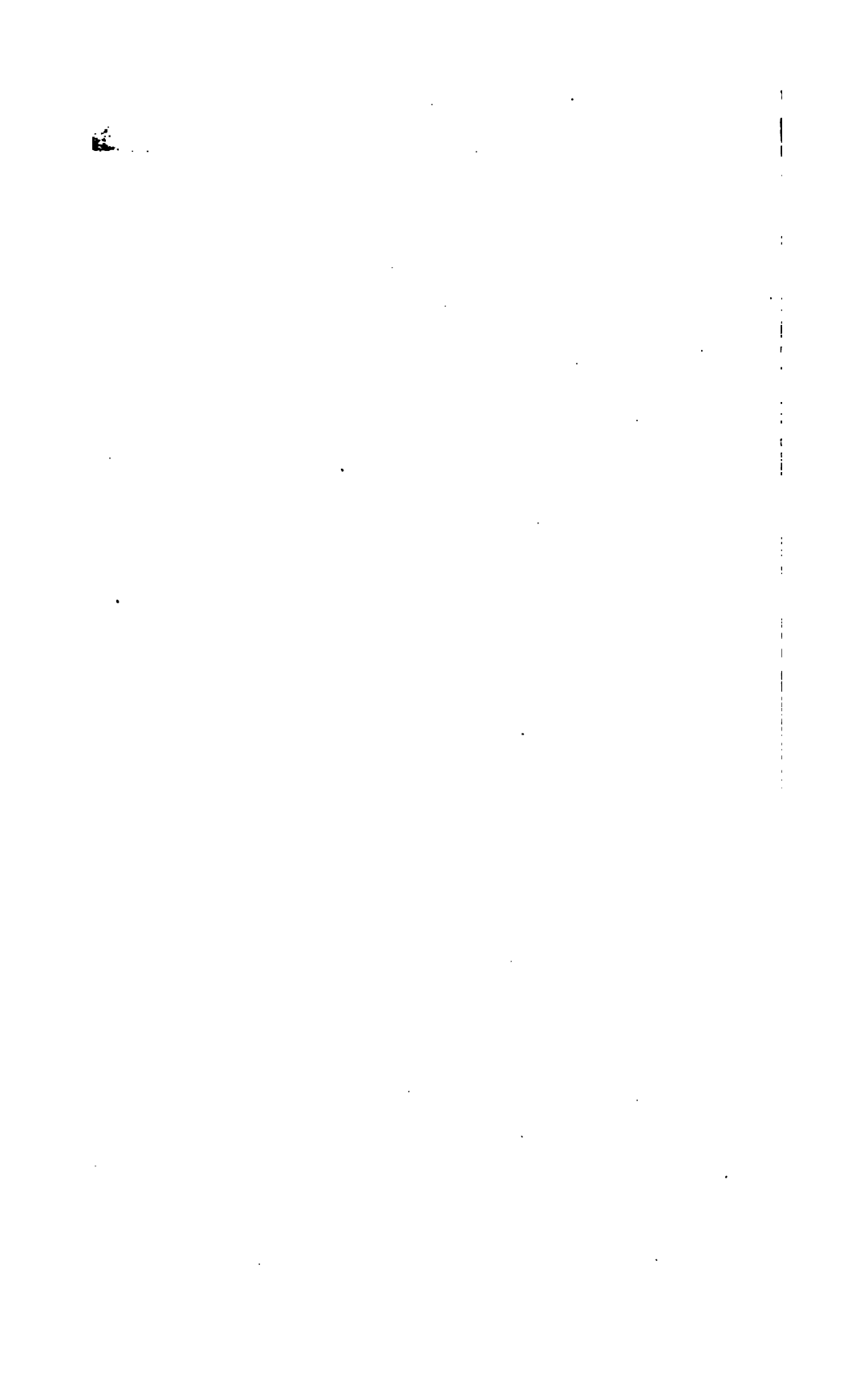
Let Truth and Justice, devotion and piety, concord and unity, brotherly kindness and charity, with other Christian Virtues, so flourish amongst us, that they may be the stability of our times, and make this our association a praise here on Earth. This we most humbly beg, in the name and for the sake of Jesus Christ, our Lord and Saviour. *Amen.*

Form of Prayer to be used at Closing.

O Almighty God, who art a strong Tower of Defence unto thy Servants, against the face of their Enemies; we yield thee praise and thanks for our deliverance from those great and apparent dangers wherewith we were encompassed; We acknowledge thy goodness, that we were not delivered over as a prey unto them, beseeching thee still to continue such thy mercies towards us, that all the world may know thou art our Saviour and mighty Deliverer, through Jesus Christ. *Amen.*

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